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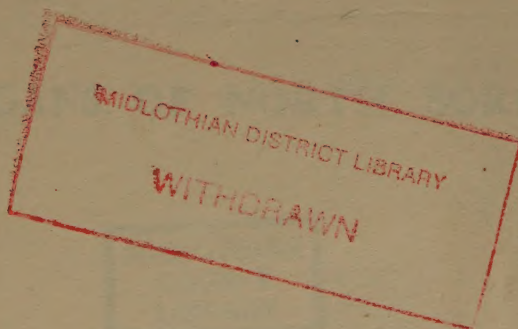
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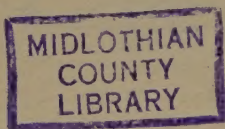
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THE PAGANS OF NORTH BORNEO



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KANDOI, A MURUT GOVERNMENT CHIEF

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THE PAGANS OF NORTH BORNEO

By

OWEN RUTTER

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY AND OF
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

AUTHOR OF "BRITISH NORTH BORNEO," ETC. ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

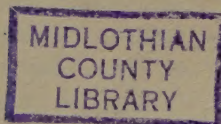
C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.S.

PROFESSOR OF ETHNOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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INTRODUCTION

THERE is an old saying, " Good wine needs no bush " ; if this is true then assuredly Mr. Owen Rutter's book needs no introduction. Nor if it did could I claim any special competence, for it is now more than a quarter of a century since I spent six months in the lovely island of which he writes, and even then I saw no Dusun or Murut, the tribes with which the author is almost wholly concerned. Both peoples constitute solid inland groups stretching across the breadth of British North Borneo, both held off from the sea by a continuous coastal fringe of Islamized immigrants who have extended for considerable distances up such large rivers as the Labuk and Kinabatangan. The boundary between Dusun and Murut is irregular, the Dusun of the central area of British North Borneo coming rather further south than the mass of their tribesmen nearer the coasts ; ignoring such slight irregularities and the coastal fringe of Mohammedan peoples, the line between Dusun and Murut may be taken to run roughly from Cowie Harbour on the south-east coast to Beaufort in the north-west. The Dusun, then, are limited to British North Borneo, but this does not hold for the Murut, who extend southward both into Sarawak and Dutch territory.

Mr. Rutter spent five years in North Borneo as a District Officer in the Civil Service, during which time he served in each of the five Residencies of the State and so was in close touch with natives of varying types and groups ; and he has also spent eighteen months in the country as a private investigator, when he again travelled extensively.

Although he tells us a great deal about the Murut and Dusun he does not say much about their physical characters, and their affinities to the natives of other lands, and it is here, as it seems, that the intervention of an ethnologist finds its justification. It has long been recognized that throughout the Malay Archipelago there exists a relatively early long-headed (dolichocephalic) non-Malay element, to which is applied the term Indonesian, in opposition to the round-headed (brachycephalic) race of Indonesia distinguished as proto-Malay (of which the true Malays are a particular group). There seems little doubt that the natives of Borneo are everywhere a mixture of these two peoples, just as their culture everywhere betrays

a dual origin, and the immediate matter is to determine the position of Dusun and Murut. The material on which comparisons must be based will be found in the memoir by Dr. A. C. Haddon, *A Sketch of the Ethnography of Sarawak* (*Archivio per l' Antropologia e l' Etnologia*, Vol. XXXI, 1901) and his Appendix on the physical characters of the peoples of Borneo in Hose and McDougall's important work, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*.

First with regard to the relationship of Dusun and Murut. Ivor Evans (*Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*) records the cephalic index of 19 Dusun, with an average—neglecting decimals—of 76 and a maximum of 80. These figures roughly correspond to 74 and 78 on the skull, and with this correction such figures become comparable with the twenty-seven Murut crania measured by Haddon. Now Haddon's figures give an average of 73.5 and a maximum of 79, which, considering the small number of subjects in each series, can scarcely mean other than the substantial identity of the two peoples. There is, of course, the possibility of the two series not being fair samples, but there seems no reason to suspect this, and provisionally, at any rate, the two tribes may be accepted as constituting an ethnic unit, in spite of their cultural dissimilarities, which no doubt are largely related to differences in environment. And since the Murut are the most long-headed of the tribesmen measured by Haddon we may assume that the Murut-Dusun group carry more Indonesian blood than any other tribe in British North Borneo and Sarawak, and in fact probably represent this element in as pure a form as it occurs in Borneo. In any case both tribes differ markedly from such important peoples as Kenyah, Kayan and Iban, with their indices of from 80 upwards, who as it would seem more nearly represent the proto-Malays. This was, perhaps, to be anticipated; it is, however, unexpected to find that the Murut-Dusun have approximately the same cephalic index as the Punan, culturally the most primitive of the Borneo jungle tribes, who live in small groups in jungle, do not cultivate, and whose arts and crafts are almost limited to the preparation of rough shelters, mats, and their implements of the chase, to wit blow-guns, and poisoned darts.

As to origins, there is so much evidence for the colonization of North Borneo from the Philippines (e.g. the Tagal and Bisaya of Borneo are probably offshoots of the Tagal and Visaya of the Philippines), that there is no objection to believing that the Murut type of culture has been brought into Borneo from the Philippines where, e.g. a system of agriculture similar to

that of the Murut is widely practised. Behind this we perceive more vaguely a culture of mixed origin, many elements of which are to be found in Assam, which has spread throughout Indonesia as the result of the clash and fusion of wave upon wave of Indonesian and proto-Malay peoples, giving Borneo a series of tribes presenting physically and culturally so much general resemblance that only prolonged intensive and comparative studies of each area can be expected to add materially to the imperfect knowledge we at present possess.

Of the matters treated by Mr. Rutter no doubt the most important is the codification—for it is no less—of pagan law in Chapter IX, and this should be of the greatest practical assistance to administrators. Of peculiar interest is the untranslatable *sagit*, something between a fine and a customary due (with psychological analogies to a consolation prize and a 'luck-penny') which has now come into force in place of the taking of heads, e.g. on marriage. Such a modification as this must be of the greatest interest to Government officials nor, it is encouraging to think, is it without parallel elsewhere.

Another interesting matter is the relative frequency of suicide, its prevalence, especially among young girls, as the result of disappointment in love, and the absence in this mixed Indonesian-proto-Malay population of such violent methods of self-destruction (for that is what it came to in the old days) as the Malayan *amok*.

In Chapter VIII Mr. Rutter pays a well-merited tribute to the part played by the Chinese in the economic development and so in the pacification of the country, but his words must not be taken to imply that until the advent of the Chartered Company the Chinese had little to do with the country. This is scarcely the case. The importance of old jars of Chinese origin throughout the interior of Borneo bespeaks at the least a considerable coastwise trade and coastal markets; moreover Legaspi, the Spanish conqueror of the Philippines and founder of Manila, writes of his capture of a junk whose crew were 'Moors' of Borneo and which had a cargo of silk, cotton, porcelain, and the like. This was late in the sixteenth century, but progress during the last twenty years in our knowledge of the earlier wares of China, especially of Sung earthenwares and porcelains, enables us to date many of the specimens from the Philippines to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and there does not seem any reason why some of the Borneo wares should not be of equal date. Such jars as Ningka (for the most valuable of these jars have names) figured by Hose and

McDougall (Plate XLVI) is certainly in Sung (960-1280) style, and there is at least a presumption that it is of Sung or Yuan (1280-1368) age. Moreover, we have an actual account of Chinese trade with P'o-ni (Borneo) and Pa-lau-yu (Palawan) in the *Chui-fan-chi*, a work written in the thirteenth century by Chau-Ju-Kua, Inspector of Foreign Trade in Fukien, wherein it is recorded that Borneo produces four kinds of camphor, laka wood, yellow wax, and tortoise-shell, which were exchanged *inter alia* for lacquered bowls and plates and green porcelain (celadon). Palawan is attached to and confused with the Philippines (San-sü), from which it is actually no further than it is from Borneo, for here live the Hai-Tan, who are no other than the pygmy Aeta of the Philippines: "They are small in stature and their eyes are round and yellow (brown), they have curly hair and their teeth show (between their lips). They nest in treetops. Sometimes parties of three or five lurk in the jungle, from whence they shoot arrows on passers-by without being seen, and many have fallen victims to them. If thrown a porcelain bowl, they will stoop and pick it up and go away leaping and shouting for joy."

It is obvious, then, that Chinese pottery and porcelain have been valued on the Indonesian islands for many hundred years, and an interesting line of research would be to compare this eastern trade, throughout its extent in the hands of Chinese and their congeners, with the western trade, largely Arab, which carried Sung and Ming wares to Mesopotamia and East Africa. One difference is at once apparent: notwithstanding the reference to the importation of celadon into Borneo, and in spite of the durability of the heavy celadons of the first half of the Ming dynasty, this class does not constitute the great majority of Borneo and Philippine ceramics of Chinese origin, the contrary holding true for India and the West. This almost suggests that the Indonesian taste in Chinese ware was formed at an earlier date, i.e. in Sung times before fabrics so eminently suited for export were in existence. Nor is the evidence of this ancient trade with Borneo of mere antiquarian interest, for it gives a hint of the extent of Chinese cultural influence and affords, e.g. an explanation of the similarity of the Borneo tattoo pattern, commonly called *asu* (at least in Sarawak) to various degraded dragon designs found on Sung and Ming bronzes and porcelains.

These, then, are a few of the points of special interest raised by Mr. Rutter's book, which is full of valuable material.

C. G. SELIGMAN.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

As originally planned, this book was to have been written in collaboration with my friend and former Resident, Captain A. B. C. Francis. I had long had in mind a work on the natives of North Borneo as a whole, an account of their social organization, their arts and crafts, agriculture, laws and customs, methods of head-hunting, religion, folklore and language. Old customs were disappearing fast before the levelling influence of civilization, and no such book existed. Ling Roth's work, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, deals mainly with Sarawak, owing to the paucity of information available as to the North Borneo natives up to 1896, when it was published; *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, by Dr. Charles Hose and Professor W. McDougall, although the standard work on the Sarawak tribes, does not deal in any detail with those of North Borneo, as the distinguished authors would be the first to acknowledge; Mr. I. H. N. Evans's valuable study, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, is restricted to the natives of the Tuaran and Tempasuk districts; while the account of the natives in my own book, *British North Borneo*, is necessarily limited and compressed.

While I realized, therefore, that the time for such a book was ripe I felt that the variations in culture and custom of the natives throughout the State being so great, my knowledge was not sufficient for me to tackle the undertaking single-handed. Bruce Francis, who had then retired from the Chartered Company's service, agreed to help me, and together we planned out the general idea of the book.

That was in 1923. We encountered many difficulties and work progressed slowly; and for both of us other activities and interests intervened. But the book was never forgotten and it was beginning to take shape when, in August 1927, Bruce Francis died after an attack of pneumonia.

Besides robbing me of a close friend, his death took from me a collaborator whose twenty years' experience of the country would have been immeasurably valuable. For a while I had little heart for going on alone. Yet much had been done. I knew, too, that the book had been on his conscience for many

months before his death. He had accepted the appointment of Secretary to the London Office of the Chartered Company and since he never spared himself, his days had been very full. In December 1926 he had written to me :

"I am beginning to be desperately worried about *The Tribes*, or rather my share therein. I find it almost impossible to get going in the evenings. It is not for want of trying, but it is difficult to make one's brain do anything in the way of original work after slogging through the day."

During the ensuing months the book had been on his mind, in spite of my assurances that there was no hurry. And gradually, after his death, I came to feel that he would have wished it finished : for he always finished jobs and had taught me to (he was the strictest Resident I ever had) in the days when we lived and worked (and occasionally bickered) in the Murut hills.

So I went on alone, and this personal statement appears necessary to show how the book comes to be presented to the public. Since it contained much work that he never saw, it seemed scarcely right to couple his name with it on the title-page. I consulted the Secretary of the Society of Authors, and he suggested that the proper course would be to indicate in a preface how much the book owed to collaboration. Mrs. Francis concurred, and it remains to say that Bruce Francis drafted Chapters I, III, and IV, the first section of Chapter VI and the section dealing with weapons in Chapter VII. These, according to our plan, I rewrote and slightly amplified. The pagan classification in Chapter II and the offences described in the chapter on Pagan Law were tabulated in collaboration and the chapters written by myself. For the remainder of the book and for the opinions it contains, I am responsible. The original plan had been to include all the natives, that is the Mohammedan tribes as well as the pagans. I decided to restrict it to the pagans, with the idea of perhaps issuing a further volume at some later date, should this one meet with approval.

I am only too well aware that this would have been a much better book had I had the benefit of Bruce Francis's counsel and collaboration ; and it would have been far less comprehensive than it is had I not had the assistance of Mr. G. C. Woolley who, as Resident of the Interior, allowed me to plague him with inquiries to supplement or test my own information and observations. I must also record my thanks to the President and Court of Directors of the Chartered Company, and to members of their London Office staff, for encouragement and

for permission to use photographs; to His Excellency the Governor, Mr. J. L. Humphreys, C.M.G., C.B.E., and to those officers of the Civil Service who spared time from their multifarious duties to answer queries (acknowledgments by name will be found in the text); to Mr. F. W. Fraser, C.B.E., for allowing me to use some of his notes on native custom; to Mr. G. C. Irving for procuring photographs and for information on questions connected with education and agriculture; to my brother, Mr. R. A. Rutter, for assistance rendered in Borneo; to Mr. R. K. Hardwick for permission to use photographs; and not least to the late Mr. A. C. Pearson, C.M.G., formerly Governor and subsequently Secretary to the Chartered Company, who gave the project of this book his whole-hearted support in its initial stages.

I am also indebted to Mr. E. P. Gueritz, formerly Governor of North Borneo, to Mr. H. W. L. Bunbury and Mr. H. M. Ince of the Civil Service, and to Mr. F. E. Lease, until recently Manager of Sapong Estate, for reading the book in manuscript; and to Dr. C. G. Seligman for many helpful suggestions and for contributing the Introduction. Mr. Bunbury has also helped me with photographs, putting at my disposal some taken while he was on the Dutch Boundary Commission.

For myself, I have kept ever before me the danger of generalizing about the pagans of North Borneo: it is rarely, if ever, safe to say that such-and-such is a Dusun custom unless the statement is qualified by the name of the group among whom the custom has been noted; for custom may vary to a surprising degree in areas no more than a day's march apart. For the spelling of the names of pagan groups I have followed that of Mr. D. R. Maxwell's Census Report of British North Borneo, 1921; except that I have adopted the general Sarawak usage for the spelling of the word Dayak. I am aware that scientists may dislike references to "Dusuns" and "Muruts" and prefer to call the tribes "the Dusun," "the Murut." But the former is the common usage of the country and that of the Census Report, and I find authority for it in the works on the Nagas.

The late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers believed implicitly in the importance of a knowledge of anthropology if native races were to be governed wisely. In Papua and the mandated territory of New Guinea this has been recognized and an anthropological department has been created to assist in native administration, with conspicuous success. If at some future date the Chartered Company sees fit to follow this example, or to give its adminis-

trative officers a course of training in the elements of anthropology before they take up their duties among the natives, it may be that this book will form a starting-point or at least a jumping-off ground for further inquiries.

I make no claim to omniscience in writing about the North Borneo pagans, and I know full well that this book contains many gaps which fuller knowledge will fill in. But I can claim that, with the assistance of others, I have been able to record much information that has never before been published. My work is confined to descriptive anthropology: that is to say, I have confined myself to facts, tested whenever possible, and have left hypotheses to others; for description must come before comparison, which must be based on definite and accurate information. This I have tried to record, in the hope that it may form the basis of a more detailed study and that someone coming after me may stand on the shoulders of this book and see more than I.

A scientific and systematic survey of native populations is really the duty of the Governments which are concerned with their administration. This has been recognized by the Governments of British India, of the Dutch East Indies, of French Indo-China, of the Philippines and, more recently, of Papua. I cannot but feel that, even though the Government of North Borneo has not the resources of an Imperial Government at its command, the outlay required for such work would not be ill-spent. To quote from the Preface to Messrs. Skeat and Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, written in 1906: "Apart from the high scientific value of such investigations, there are not wanting signs of the times that point to the supreme importance to European Governments in the tropics of intimately studying and carefully considering the peculiarities of the alien and less civilized races committed to their care."

O. R.

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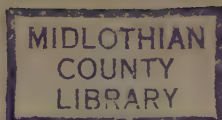
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FOLDING MAP OF NORTH BORNEO



THE PAGANS OF NORTH BORNEO

CHAPTER I

FROM PAST TO PRESENT

§ I

THE island of Borneo is in shape roughly an isosceles triangle, of which the portion towards the apex, in area 29,184 square miles (about the size of Scotland and one-tenth of the whole), is the State of North Borneo, a British Protected State administered by the British North Borneo Chartered Company.

This triangle is one of the most prominent features of the Malay Archipelago, and a study of the map will immediately reveal something of the ethnological history of Borneo as a whole and of North Borneo in particular. The Malay Peninsula, joined only by a narrow isthmus to the mainland of Asia, forms a link between that mainland and the archipelago and the chain is continued in a gentle curve through Sumatra, Banka, Billiton, Borneo, the Philippine Islands and Formosa, back to the mainland. There can be little doubt that at no very remote geological date these islands were joined to the continent of Asia; zoology and botany show that the budding off was a gradual process, but the present distribution of land and sea favours the advance of settlers from the continent. Even to-day none of the shallow channels which separate the larger islands, with the exception of that between Luzon and Formosa, is one hundred miles wide, and in these channels are strung out, like stepping stones, innumerable islets which would form convenient anchorages to migrating mariners.

One can visualize the progress down the length of the Malay Peninsula of the Mongoloid tribes from the hills of Burma and of what is now French Indo-China. Those in the van of the wandering hordes, attracted by the fertile plains of the peninsula, settled down along the coast. As pressure

increased, they, with their sea-sense developed, pushed outward from the shores of the Chersonese to Sumatra, to Borneo, to Java, and to the Philippines. There, it may be, they met a similar stream of Mongols who, making the coast of Fukien their departure point, reached Formosa and then, by way of the intervening islands, the northern shores of Luzon.

Such voyages would have called for no extraordinary enterprise even on the part of folk who were not blue-water sailors, since land would hardly ever have been out of sight and the vessel never far from the shelter of some harbour or river mouth. They would have been child's play to a race that had acquired a taste for the sea and had learnt to take advantage of the steady six months' alternation of the monsoons.

§ 2

The Aborigines of North Borneo. There is a considerable amount of evidence to prove that the pagan tribes of North Borneo are closely allied racially not only to the inhabitants of neighbouring islands, as might be expected, but to those of the northern Philippines, of Formosa and of Upper Burma and Assam. The close resemblances of custom, culture, physiognomy and language can be explained in no other way. The thorny subject of comparative ethnology is, however, beyond the scope of this book, whose object is rather a description of the races of North Borneo as they exist to-day. It is enough to state that I adopt the theory that the present pagan tribes inhabiting North Borneo are the descendants of immigrants from the mainland of Asia, a branch of the long-headed Indonesian race which extends from the Eastern Himalayas to Celebes.

Were there any earlier inhabitants whom these immigrants displaced? It seems probable that, at all events in North Borneo, there were not. In Malaya and in the Philippines remnants of negrito tribes survive. They are nomadic. They cultivate no crops, build nothing more than temporary shelters in the forest, and avoid contact with the outer world. In Borneo no survivors of any negrito predecessors have been found. The only known nomads are the Punans of Sarawak and kindred tribes; these primitive folk are not negritos, nor are they found in North Borneo. It seems reasonable to suppose that had any negrito tribes ever existed in North Borneo they would have had better chances of surviving in the remote and lonely forests of the hills, than in Malaya or the Philippines,

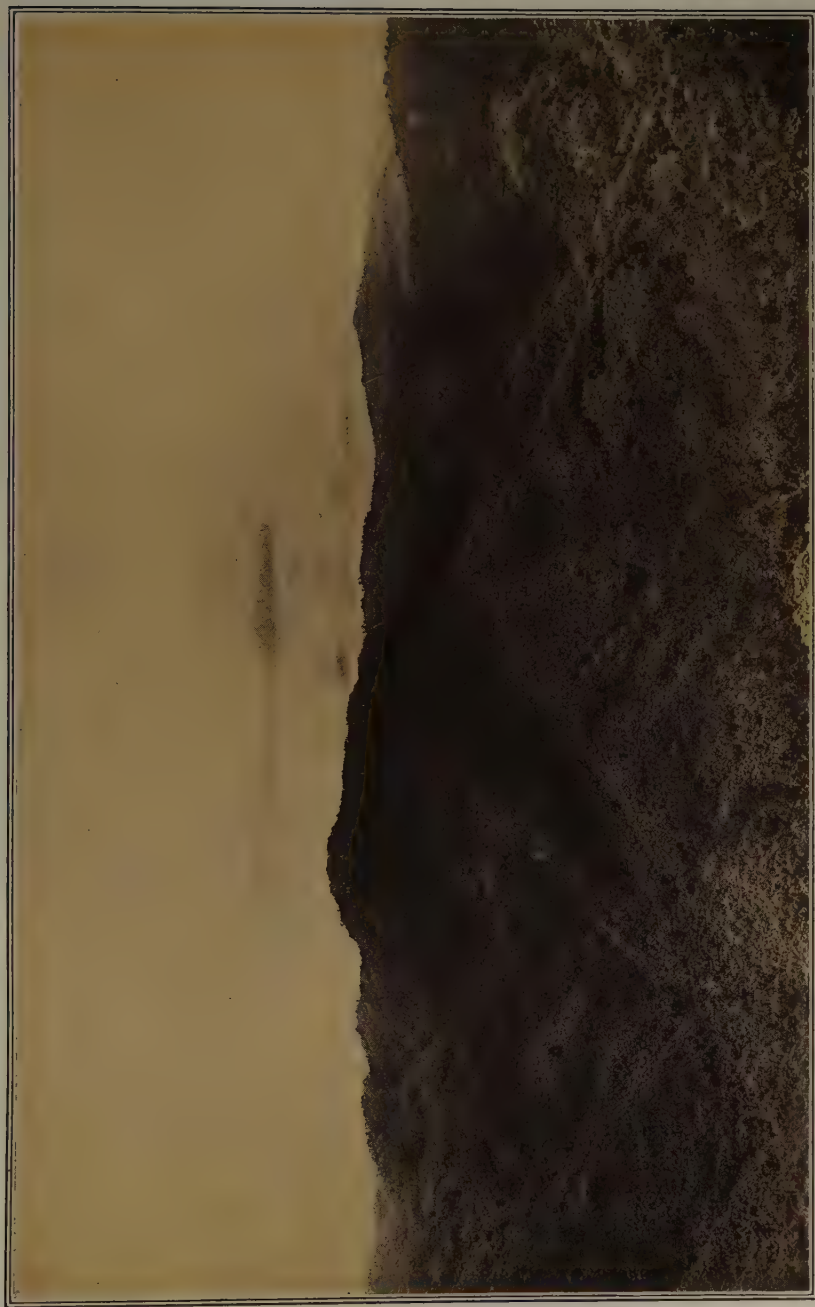


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THE HILLS OF THE INTERIOR

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whither came wave after wave of settlers. A nomad tribe, however, leaves no tangible relics for posterity, and among the pagans of North Borneo even negroid features and close-curved hair, which might indicate a mixture of blood in the past, are very rare. It is safe to say that if negrito tribes ever did exist in North Borneo, the present inhabitants owe nothing to them, either racially or culturally. Even in the Malayan countries where negritos still exist, there is little intercourse between them and the later-comers who, although they may occasionally take negrito women for their wives, certainly absorb few of the customs and modes of life of the nomads.

Since the early history of the human race is a story of continual migration, it is difficult to say who were the aborigines of any country. But since there is no evidence to show that those early settlers, whose descendants are now called broadly Muruts and Dusuns, reached anything but an unpopulated land, they may be considered the first inhabitants of North Borneo. Their early settlements were, undoubtedly, along the coasts. As the inexorable pressure began again, the first-comers must have been driven inland, and gradually the weaker communities must have taken to the hills. There they dwelt secure from alien invasion.

Borneo's physical characteristics have saved it from being overrun by a conqueror. The neighbouring islands, which have suffered Arab or Hindu invasion, are long and narrow; even their remotest inland districts have always been accessible from the coast. But the massif of Borneo, standing four-square, offers a more solid obstacle to the advance of an invader from the sea, especially as he would have had no incentive to leave behind the element he knew and penetrate to those dark and uninviting hills that rose beyond the fringing belt of plain.

For similar reasons Borneo remained untouched by the later European conquests, which, approaching the archipelago from opposite points of the compass, broke and dissipated their energies on the islands first encountered. The Dutch and Portuguese adventurers on the west, and the Spaniards in the Philippines, impressed a smattering of European knowledge upon the peoples with whom they came in contact; Borneo was not within that influence.

The Chinese, of course, had intercourse with Borneo from very early times, but they came either as ambassadors demanding tribute or as merchants in search of spices, pearls, gold, edible birds'-nests and other tropical produce, and not as settlers. They made no colonies. Such bases as they established were

trading posts, 'factories' in the old East Indian phrase, where they lived their own lives without contact with the natives whom they despised as barbarians. Unlike the Chinese who flock to the Malayan countries to-day, they were visitors, not immigrants, and so left little trace of their civilization behind.

§ 3

Geographical Influences. The physiography of North Borneo had far more effect on the development of the pagan tribes than had any contact with the outside world. The north-western coast runs in a long slant from Cape Simpang Mengai (the apex of the triangle) to the Sarawak border and beyond. Parallel to the coast, and never more than fifty miles from it, lies the main backbone range of the island, forming the divide between the rivers which flow to the south and east. The latter are, generally speaking, broad, slow-flowing rivers carrying a good load of water, and navigable for appropriate craft to within a comparatively short distance of the backbone range. Those which drain the north-western watershed are shorter, and for the most part rocky torrents which perforce descend at a steep gradient in order to arrive at sea-level in the short course which Nature has given them. Consequently they are usually unnavigable except in their lowest reaches, where they flow through the alluvial coastal plains that they themselves have created.

It is interesting to observe how this geographical formation has influenced ethnography. The rivers which flow south and east are water highways for the greater part of their length, but while they afford an easy means of communication by water, they are in themselves effective obstacles to communication by land. They are the silent highways of the jungle, but they are not only silent, they are desolate. Even to-day a traveller may pass reach after reach without seeing a sign of human occupation beyond a trampled patch of mud on the river bank and a canoe tied up near by. From time to time he may catch a glimpse of the brown roof of a long communal village house, perched, for defensive purposes, high upon a distant hill, or he may meet a boat with three or four paddlers creeping along under the jungle which overhangs the bank. Nothing more. A melancholy air of solitude broods over that vast region of sombre forest.

Not only is the country sparsely populated, but, until he explores, there is little to show the passer-by that it is not



Photo by courtesy of

A COMMUNAL HOUSE IN MURUT COUNTRY

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devoid of mankind. It is unusual to find a path where a river will serve, even though the river journey may double the distance. In that tropical wilderness a man who wishes to visit a neighbouring village may not take his spear and make his way along a well-used track over the hills, as he might if he lived on the northern watershed. He will need a boat and he will need two or three companions to help him paddle up the streams or pole through the rapids. If the river is in flood, his journey will be impossible. Every visit to another village must, then, be formal, premeditated. Such conditions have precluded free and easy intercourse between those small and scattered communities. The tendency has been for each village to remain self-centred and self-contained, without any definite feeling of race-brotherhood to its neighbours. More often than not isolation has bred enmity and feud.

On the north-western slopes of the dividing range, where the geographical conditions are different, there has been no such isolation. There, communication by water being difficult and often impossible, the countryside is criss-crossed with tracks leading over the hills from one village to another. From time immemorial these have been the native highways in this part of the country. Instead of being formal and premeditated, intercourse between villages, and between districts, has been easy, and this has led to the development of an outlook wider than that of mere village interests. There is necessarily more intimacy in a meeting between travellers on a jungle track only a foot wide than there can be in boats on a broad river; moreover, the very fact that a main path would pass through the centre of many villages made for frequent meetings between natives who dwelt many days' march from each other. From such meetings grew mutual understanding, friendship, and alliance against a common foe.

The diagrams on page 24 will serve to illustrate how difficulties of communication entail isolation and consequent distrust and how, on the contrary, facility of communication tends to break down the barriers that divide primitive communities. As intercourse grows easier, suspicion grows less, the village as the unit gives place to the tribal organization, and that again to a state of racial affinity.

§ 4

Results of Environment. The influence of environment on the tribes which inhabit respectively the southern and northern sides of the great watershed of North Borneo is still as evident

as it must have been centuries ago. The dwellers on the southern watershed are still backward and unenterprising. Their isolation has kept them from contact with the outside world. They still live in their long communal village houses, planting only

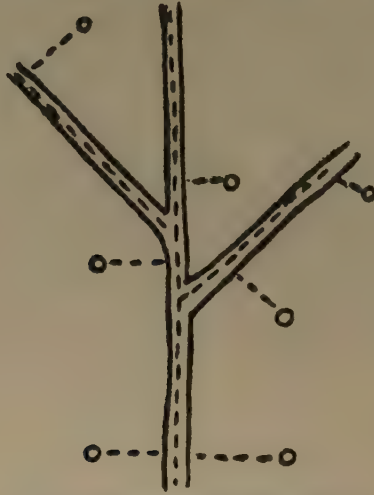


FIG. 1.—Navigable, non-fordable river, showing villages and lines of communication by water.

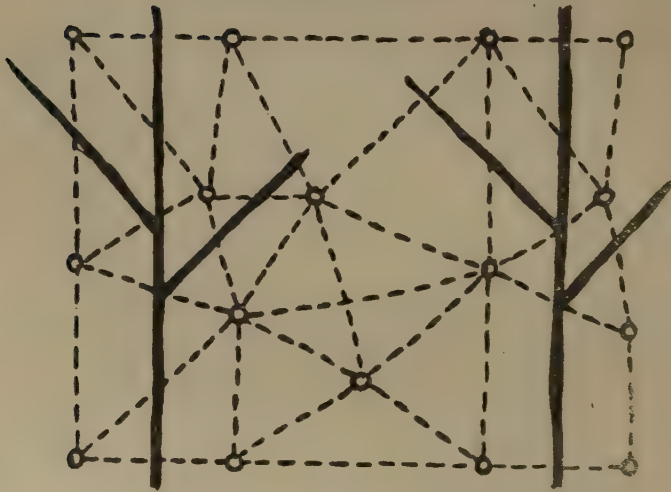


FIG. 2.—Non-navigable, fordable rivers, showing villages and lines of communication overland.

enough for their bare and immediate needs. But wherever Nature and environment allow the Borneo pagan scope, he shows himself ready to take every advantage of all that life can give him, and one may trace the gradual progress in agriculture

and all the arts of commerce as one leaves the southern watershed and approaches the northern side.

Here Nature has made things easier for the native, and his faculties have not been warped and stunted by lack of opportunity. His natural acumen and his imitative powers have been sharpened and developed by contact with the successive occupants of the coast and, in well-marked stages, one can note a higher and higher degree of culture as one comes to the north-west coast. There is no essential difference in the seed which has produced the backward and the progressive people, but in the south the seed has had hardly a chance to germinate, while in the north it has had room to bear a plant that has grown and borne fruit in a congenial soil and climate.

The Pirates. Nevertheless, that progression was made through years of suffering from which the remoter tribes were free. Although North Borneo has never been overrun by a conqueror, its coasts have been as subject to raids and incursions as those of any other land. For centuries the pagans who dwelt on the alluvial plains of the north-west coast were victimized by the pirate bands which haunted the China Sea and found along the shores of North Borneo convenient places for trading posts or sanctuaries from pursuit. These sea rovers, mainly Sulus and Illanuns from the most westerly of the Philippine Islands, and the Bajaus, sea-gypsies who are said to have come originally from Johore, gave the less warlike pagans little peace, for they would descend upon the unprotected villages, killing the men, looting the houses, devastating the gardens and carrying off the women and children as slaves. As Mr. E. P. Gueritz has pointed out to me, the large area devoid of jungle between Tempasuk and Kimanis shows signs of intensive cultivation for a long period and it is probable that it was once densely populated.

Not idly was the northernmost cape of Borneo called Simpang Mengai—Pirate Meeting Point—and the shores of North Borneo became studded with settlements where these Bajau, Illanun, and Sulu pirates established their colonies and pushed back the earlier inhabitants of the country. In some places, such as Tuaran, the invaders were evicted, in others, owing either to more ingratiating habits on the part of the Mohammedan settlers, or to a less virile spirit on the part of the pagans, a fusion took place and a hybrid race, due to inter-marriage, was evolved.

This fusion occurred particularly in the region where rivers were navigable and made the hinterland accessible. On each

of the large rivers which drain the south-eastern watershed there is a distinct belt of hybrid population, generally known as Orang Sungei—River Folk. The progress of this fusion may be marked very clearly, even to-day, as one ascends any of these rivers, for one passes from communities which observe strictly the tenets of Islam, through others with less and less bigoted observance—Islam modified by pagan superstition, then pagan superstition modified by an ever-decreasing regard for Islam—until one emerges into the definitely pagan area. It is easy to see how the pirate invaders who made their way up these rivers in olden days, took their wives from the pagans and, so far as they could, imposed their own customs and religion on the people, and how the farther they penetrated, the less marked became their influence.

The formation of this definitely bastard race was confined to the navigable rivers. On the northern watershed there is only one river, the Padas, by which boats can penetrate far into the lowlands. Here there is a belt of Besayas, a tribe of Islamized Muruts which has sprung from union between the coastal Mohammedans and the pagans of the headwaters. Elsewhere on the West Coast, even though intermarriage between the Mohammedans and the pagans has occurred, the race cleavage has remained clear-cut. The invaders were mariners, to whom land travel was a foreign habit, and save when they could reach the inland districts in their boats, they remained comparatively isolated in their settlements along the coast. Ruthless by nature and bloodthirsty pirates by profession, they gained a footing on these coasts easily enough, but the methods which won them this success militated against much intermingling between themselves and the inhabitants they ousted. Their victims, though perforce they accepted the fact of invasion, took measures to prevent any extension of it inland. On the open coast they might be powerless against the new-comers, but they were masters of jungle tactics, and guerilla warfare made it impossible for the Mohammedans to wander about the country except in armed bands of considerable strength. Pent in their strongholds, with the sea their only outlet, they lived the lives of beleaguered garrisons and occasionally were forced to abandon their positions and concentrate with their tribesmates elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the pagans continued to suffer even after the power of the pirates was broken by the police work of the British Navy, culminating in Admiral Cochrane's attack on the stronghold at Marudu in 1845. But as time went on the



Photo

A DUSUN VILLAGE ON THE WEST COAST

Harvey Kuter

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Mohammedans began to realize that piracy was an unstable and precarious livelihood and they established themselves as the permanent inhabitants of the coastal fringe from which the pagans had retreated in search of peace. To a people essentially maritime, jungle warfare seemed arduous and unprofitable, and in course of time a compromise was reached which made contact and commerce possible between themselves and the pagans.

§ 5

The Rule of Brunei and Sulu. Even more devastating than the effect of the pirates was the influence on the pagans of the native kingdoms of Brunei and Sulu, whose Sultans had some title to the sovereignty of North Borneo and exercised it to the full. This overlordship was divided by indeterminate and overlapping boundaries, and the interest which the Sultans took in their territories was limited to the amount of revenue they could extort from the hapless population. The country was divided into fiefs which were allotted to such of the nobles of each court as had found favour with their sovereigns and could be trusted to pay the feudal dues. The consequence was that each pangeran or datoh had his band of sycophants and retainers who battered like leeches upon the country. Their one object was to extract, by fair means or foul, the uttermost farthing. The limits to their extortion were set at the point where their own precious lives were placed in jeopardy or where there was danger of their victims, already shouldered out of the coastal districts by the Mohammedan settlers, migrating to a district possibly less fertile, but beyond the reach of their oppressors.

The Borneo pagan, in his primitive state, is a law-abiding person with an instinct to acknowledge the jurisdiction of his village headman, who administers justice according to *adat*, the custom of the tribe or sept. But in districts where the writ of a pangeran ran, custom, however immemorial, and justice itself, counted for nothing if the feudal lord's interests were involved. The courtier, or the rich man with a weak case, went to the pangeran for his verdict, either as a court of first instance or by way of appeal, in sure and perfect hope that he would win.

There could be but one result. The age-long authority of the village headman was eclipsed and the whole system of village administration undermined, not only within the sphere of the feudal lord's immediate sway, but within an indefinite radius beyond. The truculent bully who was in peril of judgment

in his own village had only to flee to the shoddy court of the nominal ruler to find himself welcomed as the possible source of new revenue.

§ 6

The Chartered Company. This chaotic state of affairs continued until 1881, when, after many vicissitudes, the British North Borneo Chartered Company began its corporate and practical existence. It found in the outlying districts of its territory a population which, from bitter experience in the past, was suspicious of any form of control, while on the coast was arranged against it the welter of injustice and oppression which the rule of Brunei and Sulu had inculcated. The Chartered Company had bought, for value and in correct form, and from both the royal claimants, the rights of overlord throughout the territory it now governs, but the acquisition of the rights of the feudal lords was a more lengthy process, which was only concluded in 1902, when the cession of the Membakut District made the Company *de facto* as well as *de jure* the real rulers of North Borneo.

In the early years of the Company's rule, its officers could hope to administer only the coastal districts, which lay nearest to their only line of communication, the sea. These were just the districts in which the framework of native government and justice had been most thoroughly broken. The white pioneers came preaching the doctrine of equality, but equality of taxation as well as of equality of justice. The poor man failed to understand the equity which demanded a dollar poll tax from rich and poor alike, while the rich man, accustomed to buy his verdict as he might buy a gong or a buffalo, failed to appreciate a court which based its judgments on evidence. As may be imagined, it took much time and infinite patience to restore public confidence and to rebuild the framework that had been broken down.

Yet the policy adopted by the Company was successful. The old framework had tottered, but its timbers were sound. The village, under its headman, became once more the unit of government. Native custom was accepted, to a great extent, as the common law of the country, with a gradual leavening of alien laws as time went by. Finding their customs and their rights respected, and realising that the extortion and oppression of the feudal lords were past, the population began gradually to pay that tribute of confidence which is the reward of justice and fair dealing.

It would have been too much to expect that in less than half a century a country could be led from chaos to order without some reaction or set-back, for a settled society implies, to some degree, the restricted freedom of the individual. North Borneo has not lacked disorder and rebellion upon occasion, but such disturbances have been sporadic and, for the most part, on each occasion directly due to one forceful malcontent who has used his influence to gather a more or less unwilling following. The more placid folk have long been content with the sense of security given them by a stable government. The fisherman, the farmer, the cattle-owner, the tobacco planter and the hunter of jungle produce, now know that the fruits of their labours are guaranteed to them. They pay their dues, it is true, but they pay a sum which is fixed and general, and not one dependent on the whim of a Brunei noble. Piracy and headhunting are things of the past. To-day the seas of Borneo are safe, the jungle paths secure. Both the pagans of the hills and plains, and the Mohammedans who have made settlements along the coast, live at peace, administered as justly and as sympathetically as any native races in the world.

CHAPTER II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PAGANS

§ I

It will be convenient to explain here the sense in which the word 'pagan' is used throughout this book. The Roman soldier was accustomed to use *paganus* (yokel) as a term of contempt for a civilian, and when the early Church adopted *miles Christi* in the figurative sense of "soldier of Christ" *paganus* was also adopted as a term for one who was not converted. Here the word 'pagan' is used not in contradistinction to 'Christian,' but rather to denote those peoples in North Borneo which have not embraced Mohammedanism; it is not used in its old contemptuous sense, nor as the equivalent of the rather opprobrious term 'heathen.'

The Muruts and Dusuns. The total pagan population of North Borneo is 134,200.¹ The pagans are usually divided into two main tribes, to which are given the distinguishing names of Murut and Dusun. These names are, however, never used by the tribes themselves, but appear to have been applied to them by the Mohammedan invaders. The word Murut is derived from the Bajau *belud* 'hill,' and Dusun from the Malay *dusun* 'orchard;' so that *orang* Murut and *orang* Dusun meant "men of the hills" and "men of the orchards," or gardens. The old Bajau name for the coast pagans was Ida'an.

The Dusuns are the predominant race in the whole State and predominate in the administrative districts of Labuk and Sugut, Kudat, Marudu, Tempasuk, Tuaran, Papar and Tambunan, while the Muruts predominate in Tenom, Keningau, Pensiangan and Sipitang.²

The following figures, excluding Islamized groups, are taken from the 1921 Census for the Dusun population (including

¹ *Census Report*, 1921, p. 19. This figure does not include the Orang Sungei and Idahans (grouped with Dusuns in the Census table), or Besayas (grouped with Muruts), these being Mohammedans.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 28.



Photos by courtesy of

A MURUT OF THE RUNDUM GROUP

H. W. L. Bunbury



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Tambunwas and the hybrid Kuijaus) and for the Muruts (including the Tagals) :

	Adults		Children		Total		Persons
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Dusun	30,616	33,048	20,801	19,369	51,417	52,417	103,834
Murut	9,128	9,772	6,094	5,361	15,222	15,133	30,355

The Dusun usually describes himself generically as a *tulun tindal* (landsmen) or, on the West Coast, particularly at Papar, as a Kadazan. The Murut, less race-conscious, appears to deny kinship with his neighbouring Murut, and although he may call himself *ulun asak* (the equivalent of *tulun tindal*) he usually prefers to refer to himself as a member of the small group to which he may belong, calling himself *ulun Selalir* or *ulun Tagul*, the place-name being almost invariably the name of the river near which he lives.

Speaking generally, the Muruts may be said to inhabit the hilly country of the interior of North Borneo, while the Dusuns occupy the coastal plains and the uplands beyond. As we have seen, the great divides between the different river systems have tended to isolate the hill people. The result has been that the Muruts have remained in their primitive ancestral polity—small independent tribes, widely parted by physical features, hostile at times and at times in alliance against a common foe, and until recent years never displaying any sense of community of origin or aim. The Muruts' surroundings not having given them opportunities to become agriculturists (except in a primitive way) or even cattle-owners, they had no stake which they were afraid to lose in the event of defeat ; for this reason they remained warriors longer than the Dusuns who, as landowners, cattle-breeders and farmers had more than personal security or merely portable property at stake.

The Dusuns, partly owing to easier communications and partly because their proximity to the coast necessitated combination against invasion, have always displayed considerably keener race-consciousness than the Muruts. To take one instance, in the Tempasuk district there are three main divisions of Dusuns : the Kiau, the Saiap and the Kedamaian. There is no definite geographical limit to the group areas, a village of one group often being sandwiched between two of another and, owing to migration, it may be several days' journey from the ancestral village. Until recently, intermarriage was rare between members of the different groups, whose customs, and even dialects, differed considerably. Inter-group feuds were not

infrequent, yet against a common foe there was, if tradition is correct, never a moment's hesitation. Their attitude was Dusun *contra mundum*, or anyhow the Tempasuk groups *contra mundum*. Facility of land communication rendered such alliances possible, whereas in the Murut communities only those on the same river system were in close touch, and those separated by impassable mountains would meet only occasionally, and then on neutral ground.

§ 2

The Pagans a Common Stock. The Muruts, then, have remained planted in their inaccessible hills, each little community self-sufficient and isolated by natural barriers from contact with the outside world; while the Dusuns, located in a kinder terrain, and influenced by more civilized peoples, have passed from a savage into a higher state of development—so high, indeed, that they have been given by some a separate nationality. But the fact that the two tribes have developed along different lines is not to say that they have not sprung from a common stock. What the Murut is to-day, the Dusun was yesterday. There is no evidence to show that when these folk reached the island there was any racial difference between them. The assumption is that they came in waves from the same source.

The resemblances between the two tribes are patent and quite unambiguous, while it is difficult to distinguish any basic, or even material, differences which justify the assumption of the separate ancestry of each. Moreover the resemblances are too widespread to be due to contact. People whose homes are separated by a month's journey over difficult country are not likely to influence one another's habits, and there is neither record, tradition nor suggestion that a conquering race imposed alien custom upon the pagans of North Borneo. The differences between the two tribes are not racial or fundamental, they are local, and although Muruts and Dusuns may exhibit what appear to be marked variations, a closer examination shows that their dress, customs, culture, religion and language all had a common origin and that the variations are due chiefly to environment, since with a primitive folk who live in a jungle country, isolation makes inevitably for divergency of custom and dialectical difference of language.

Nor are these differences merely inter-tribal, for they are very marked between the sub-divisions of each tribe and even between the inhabitants of villages not more than a day's march apart. For example, there is as much difference in language

and appearance between a Kiau and a Papar Dusun on the one hand as there is between a Kiau Dusun and a Rundum Murut on the other, and the difference may be compared to that between a countryman from Yorkshire and a countryman from Somerset. This was true twenty years ago and is still true, if one gets under the veneer of modern influences such as the white suit.

I hold, therefore, that the Muruts and Dusuns have sprung from a common stock and that their superficial differences are not to be attributed to separate descent.¹ It is this very fact that makes the pagans of North Borneo so interesting a study, for the story of their development may be read, as though the country were a printed page, in a journey from the interior to the coast. Just as on a coconut tree one may, at the same time, see the fruit in every stage of its development from flower to maturity, so it is with the pagans of North Borneo : in the hills of the interior they are still very much what they must have been centuries ago ; as one reaches the coastal ranges they begin to emerge from this primitive simplicity, and by the time one reaches the plains they display their reactions to the outside influences which their brothers in the hills have never known. One may see, too, how those hill people would have adapted themselves to more kindly surroundings, had they made their homes upon the fertile alluvial plains instead of having to win a living from the region of mountain forests in which they dwell.

The Pagan Type. It is obvious that the Muruts of the remote interior form the most interesting study of all the North Borneo pagans, for here one may find man in his primitive state, still almost untouched by outside influences : he is, as it were, a living fossil ; in the course of centuries, his habits and customs, handed down with rigid conservatism through the ages, can have changed but little, and he represents a standard of culture that must have been prevalent among the primitive races of south-eastern Asia two thousand years ago. This is particularly so with the Muruts who live on the headwaters of the Tagul River, in what is now known as the Pensiangan district. Here the population is almost entirely indigenous and numbers 5.8 persons to the square mile, according to the 1921 Census. Only in quite recent years have these people had any contact with the outside world, and since it has been my good fortune to have lived and to have worked amongst them, I propose to adopt this group as the type of pagan inhabitant of North Borneo, describing their customs, religion and mode of life and then showing, so far as I am able, the differences and variations

¹ The question of Chinese influence is dealt with on p. 40 *et seq.*

which have grown up among the other groups owing to isolation, different surroundings or contact with alien influence.

§ 3

Murut Classification. The Muruts may be conveniently classified in the following subdivisions and groups, each of which shows variations in customs, culture and language. Needless to say, these divisions are somewhat arbitrary; there is considerable overlapping and the variations mentioned may occur within the limits of a group. A glance at the sketch-map will show the geographical distribution of the pagans.

HILL MURUTS¹

- Group 1. The Rundum Muruts, who are taken as the prototypes of the North Borneo pagans. They are distributed over the headwaters of the Tagul, Talankai and Selalir Rivers, a large area stretching from the north of Rundum Station to Pensiangan and the Dutch Border.²
- Group 2. The Sapulot Muruts, who inhabit the country from the south of the Suk Plain to the Sapulot River, and that watered by the tributaries on the left bank of the Lagungan, or Pensiangan River, as far as the Dutch Border. This and the Rundum group are closely akin in language and custom, and are known collectively as Semambu; the country they occupy is of the same character—a region of rivers, navigable but broken by rapids, and switchback hills, densely covered with forest.³
- Group 3. The Tawau Muruts, who inhabit the upper waters of the Kalabakang and Serudong Rivers. This group is closely allied to those on the Pensiangan River. Oddly enough they are called Dusuns by the east coast Mohammedan natives, but they are unquestionably Muruts.

¹ The present grouping of the pagan tribes is a modified and elaborated classification of that which appears in my *British North Borneo*.

² The word Pensiangan is derived from the Murut *siang*, river, *pen* being a prefix and *an* a substantive-forming suffix. The word therefore denotes "a place where the rivers meet," i.e. the junction of the Tagul and Siliu Rivers.

³ See also *Journal, Straits Branch, R.A.S.*, No. 86, November 1922, p. 343, where Mr. G. C. Woolley gives a classification of the Muruts.



SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PAGAN GROUPS
 The figures refer to the classification table in Chapter II.
 The line of crosses denotes the approximate boundary between Dusun and Murut country.

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- Group 4. The Kolurs, of the headwaters of the Padas River. The main body of this group is in Dutch territory, but a small number of them have migrated to the British side of the Border, probably in order to escape raids. Closely allied to them are the Tagals who have settled in the country north of Bol Station. A group known as Lun Dayoh are also found on the upper waters of the Padas, and stretch away into Sarawak, but they appear to be of Dayak origin.
- Group 5. The Bol Muruts, who inhabit the neighbourhood of the middle Padas, north of the Kolurs, Tagals and Lun Dayohs. These, though close to the Kolurs and Tagals, are not so typical of the pagan as the Rundum folk, but now that the Rundum and Pensiangan districts have been opened up by bridle paths, they remain perhaps the least known of the North Borneo natives, and those who occupy the hilly area south of Bol Station are the least visited by Europeans.
- Group 6. The Peluans. This group is found on the hills above the Padas River in the neighbourhood of Tenom, and now extends eastwards to the country watered by the Dalit River and westwards over the divide between the Padas and the Mengalong Rivers.
- Group 7. The Tengaras, who are found sparsely scattered over the neighbourhood of the upper Kwamut and Kinabatangan Rivers. In this district the density of population is only two persons to the square mile.

THE MURUTS OF THE PLAINS

- Group 8. The Temoguns, who are found in the neighbourhood of Tenom Station and in the valley of the middle Padas as far as Beaufort. In olden times they acted as pimps and tax-collectors for the Brunei overlords, and to-day they are certainly degenerate, though they plant wet rice.
- Group 9. The Keningau Muruts, also called Dabai, who occupy the Keningau Plain and the Suk and Dalit watersheds. This is by far the most prosperous of the Murut groups, and by far the most sophisticated. Their kindlier surroundings have enabled them to become cattle-breeders, and, like the Temoguns,

they plant wet rice and have definite titles to their lands. Being only three days' march from the sea they have had more contact with the outside world than any other Muruts except the Temoguns and their young men for many years have been accustomed to going out into the world as native police, house-servants or estate labourers.

§ 4

The Kuijaus. Before dealing with the distribution of the Dusuns it is necessary to mention the Kuijau group, which forms a most interesting link between the Muruts and the Dusuns and may be designated as Group 10 of the pagan tribes. The name is derived from the Dusun *riau*, meaning "dried up," probably from the area being denuded of jungle. The Tambunan people still call these folk Keriau, while the Papar Dusuns, who have the 'z' sound prominent in their dialect, have corrupted it to Kuizau; hence the Anglicized Kuijau.

According to the 1921 Census the Kuijaus number 1,487 persons, made up as follows:

Adults		Children		Total	
M	F	M	F	M	F
450	447	296	294	746	741

The Kuijaus are a hybrid tribe formed by intermarriage between the two main branches of the pagan stock. They have racial affinities to both Muruts and Dusuns, yet are akin to neither. Their villages form a belt between the country of the southernmost inland Dusuns and the most northern settlements of the Muruts, and stretch from Keningau towards the Tambunan Plain. There are only very slight differences in customs and language between the northernmost Kuijau village and the last of the Dusun communities, but on the other hand the Kuijaus of the Keningau Plain approximate very closely to their Murut neighbours, while the intermediates are half-way in custom and language. The Kuijaus are recognized by both Dusuns and Muruts as a separate tribe, and the hybrid element is clear to any close observer. They have reached a comparatively high state of culture and prosperity, and Gunsanad, one of the most powerful chiefs North Borneo has seen, is a Kuijau.

Here again we may see the effect of a natural line of communications as a factor in fusion between tribes whose intercourse would otherwise be rare. The Kuijau country has



Photo by courtesy of

B.N.B. Co.

A HILL MURUT

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always been the transport route from the Murut hills through the Dusun villages of Kimanis to the trading posts on the coast, and, in the course of years, intermarriage has undoubtedly produced this boundary tribe which shares the language and customs of each of its progenitors to a degree which varies with its propinquity to either parent.

§ 5

Dusun Classification. The second great branch of the pagans, the Dusun tribe, occupies a broad wedge of country, the base of which runs from the Klias Peninsula, near Brunei Bay, to the mouth of the Kinabatangan River, that is, the whole of the northern half of the territory, with the exception of the coastal settlements of the Mohammedan tribes. At the apex of the triangle it extends across the sea to Banggi Island.

The rivers which water the north-western coastal districts—the Membakut, Bongawan, Kimanis, Papar, Putatan, Inanam, Menggatal, Tuaran, Tempasuk, Pindassan, Ludar, Kiniong and Laier Laier—are all short streams rising in the main backbone range which runs parallel to the coast about twenty or twenty-five miles inland. The penetration of the Mohammedans nowhere exceeds five miles and in many places the Dusuns are considerably nearer to the coast. Although these rivers flow through alluvial plains in their lower reaches, their short, steep courses force them to carry off considerable quantities of water with great speed, so that rapids and obstructions are to be found in close proximity to their mouths. They do not provide highways for traffic, and the result has been that little infiltration has taken place, and the line of race-cleavage is abrupt and clearly defined.

The rivers flowing into Marudu Bay—the Tamemisan, Langkon, Bandau and Bongon—present the same obstacles to navigation for any distance upstream. On the other hand the Bengkoka, which flows into the eastern side of Marudu Bay, and the Sugut, Paitan, Labuk and Kinabatangan, which form the river system of the north-east, all have fair deep water channels for some distance from their mouths, and the intermingling between the primitive Dusuns and the more sophisticated Mohammedans has been more pronounced here than elsewhere in the territory.

The Dusuns may be divided into two main branches, the inland and the coastal, and these branches must again be subdivided into groups. For the sake of convenience I continue

the numbering of the groups throughout the whole of the pagan classification.

THE INLAND DUSUNS

- Group 11. The Tambunan Dusuns. This is a large and prosperous group which occupies the fertile Tambunan Plain and the surrounding hills. The Tambunan people are considerably more advanced than most of the inland Dusuns and, owing to the flat country in which they dwell, they are able to plant wet rice and own cattle.
- Group 12. The Tegas, a once warlike tribe inhabiting the high coastal range that separates the Tambunan Plain from the sea. These folk form a buffer state between the Tambunan Dusuns and those of the coast, and are neighbours of the Kuijaus.
- Group 13. The Ranau Dusuns, who are closely akin to the Tambunan group, and inhabit the Ranau Plain and the headwaters of the Labuk and Sugut Rivers.
- These three groups comprise the inhabitants of the administrative district of Tambunan, the foremost Dusun area in the State, with a population of 12.7 (1921 Census) to the square mile.
- Group 14. The Kiau Dusuns. This is the group-name of the Dusuns who are found in the hill-country that surrounds the massif of Mount Kinabalu, including Bundu Tuhan, and the upper waters of the Tuaran, Tempasuk, Bandau and Kinorum Rivers. They are essentially hill people and of a very fine type, being comely and of good physique.
- Group 15. The Segama Dusuns, who are found in the neighbourhood of the Segama River and the smaller rivers, including the Tunku, in the neighbourhood of Lahad Datu on the east coast. The origin of these people seems to be doubtful; they may be allied to the Idahans, Islamized Dusuns in the same area, who are said to be settlers from the Marudu district, moved thence by the first Raja Brooke in the middle of the nineteenth century to escape the raids of the pirates.
- Group 16. The Tambunwas, a backward group found on the Labuk River and stretching towards the Kinaba-



Photo

MENGGATAL DUSUNS FORMED UP IN JESSELTON TO WELCOME H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES
May 18, 1922.

Color Studies



tangan. With them are allied the Dumpas and possibly the Buludupi, two groups which were frequently mentioned in the early days of the Chartered Company. In the 1921 Census they are classified apart from the true Dusuns and total 1487, males and females being in almost equal numbers.

THE COAST DUSUNS

- Group 17. The Bundu Dusuns. A group inhabiting the rich sago-growing districts north of the Klias River. These people show more definite traces of Chinese influence than any other Dusuns in North Borneo.
- Group 18. The Membakut Dusuns, who occupy the coastal plain from Beaufort to the Bongawan River.
- Group 19. The Papar Dusuns. This group embraces the Dusuns of Papar, Kimanis and Bongawan and is closely allied to the Membakut group.
- Group 20. The Putatan Dusuns, who are near neighbours of the Papar group, though not so nearly akin to them as the Membakut Dusuns are. In this group may be included the Dusuns of Inanam and Menggatal on the north side of Jesselton. Just as the Keningau folk are the most prosperous and advanced of the Muruts, so is this group the most prosperous and advanced of the Dusuns, and owns most of the finest wet rice land in the country.
- Group 21. The Tuaran Dusuns, of the Tuaran Plain. These are also well-to-do people, exhibiting marked differences in custom, culture and language.
- Group 22. The Tenggilan Dusuns, who inhabit the lowland region between Tuaran and Tempasuk.
- Group 23. The Tempasuk Dusuns, or Kedamaian Dusuns,¹ whose communities stretch from Tenggilan to Marudu and meet those of the Kiau Dusuns towards the upper waters of the Tempasuk River. This group is split up into definite subdivisions, of which the Saiap Dusuns are the most important.
- Group 24. The Marudu Dusuns, who occupy the area drained by the lower and middle waters of the rivers which

¹ The Tempasuk River is called the Kedamaian in its upper course.

flow into Marudu Bay. With them I group the Banggi Dusuns, the inhabitants of Banggi Island, north of Kudat, who, however, although not numerous, exhibit certain marked characteristics. These are the only island Dusuns found in North Borneo. Banggi is separated from the mainland by at least ten miles of sea, which is swept by gales at certain seasons of the year. It is instructive to find, therefore, that where the Dusun has remained in contact with the sea he makes an efficient sailor.

Group 25. The Rungus, a group with distinct characteristics found in comparatively small numbers in the Kudat and Melobong Peninsulas.

§ 6

Chinese Influences. It has been asserted that the Dusuns are of Chinese descent. One of the most vehement advocates of this claim is Mr. Godfrey Hewett, who was at one time an officer in the Chartered Company's service and later British Consul for North Borneo, Brunei and Labuan. Mr. Hewett has published his views on this subject in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*¹ and in the *British North Borneo Herald*,² and has also read a paper before the Royal Anthropological Institute. He is convinced that "there has been no fusion of blood between the Dusuns and any other tribe," that "they are not in any sense an aboriginal race," and that "their presence in Borneo cannot be accounted for except by the explanation that they are of Chinese origin." One may, therefore, fairly take Mr. Hewett as the exponent of the theory of Dusun Chinese descent and summarize the arguments of that theory's adherents as follows :

(a) An invasion by Chinese of the north-western shores of North Borneo at the end of the thirteenth century.

(b) The marriage of the daughter of Ong Sum Ping, the Chinese Rajah of the Kinabatangan River, to Akhmad, the second Sultan of Brunei about a century later, as set out in the *Selesilah*, the Book of Descent of the Mohammedan Sultans of Brunei.

(c) The existence of certain irrigation works, and a bamboo bridge, which predicate a higher state of development and engineering skill than one can attribute to the modern Dusun.

¹ B. Vol. xcv, 1923.

² March 16, 1923.



THE BAMBOO BRIDGE OVER THE TEMPASUK AT KOUNG



Photos by courtesy of

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DUSUNS OF THE KIAU GROUP



(d) The alleged fact that the Dusuns themselves claim Chinese descent.

(e) The legend of the dragon of Kinabalu.

(f) The alleged fact that the name of Borneo's highest mountain contains, as usually written and pronounced by aliens, the dissyllable *kina*, the Malay word for 'Chinese,' which, in conjunction with *balu*, the Malay word meaning 'widow,' gives the name Kinabalu the meaning "Chinese Widow."

Now to take (a) and (b) together: As Mr. G. C. Woolley has pointed out,¹ the tradition of Kublai Khan's invasion of North Borneo is not a Dusun tradition. Such reports come from Chinese or other outside sources, and when considering them perhaps we should allow some discount for the optimism of the Khan's Court Historian. The alleged invasion of Borneo may well have been no more than a raid by the Khan's force either on its way to Java, or on the way back, when the captains would have been anxious to obtain some loot and prisoners to soften the effect of their failure to secure their main objective. As to the evidence from the *Selesilah*, the Brunei Chronicles are comparable with those of the other Malay States, such as Perak and Johore, in which not only are facts and dates distorted but many of the events described have a strong flavour of the supernatural.

Beyond this statement in the Brunei Chronicles there is no corroborative evidence to show that any Chinese colony or kingdom ever existed on the Kinabatangan, or elsewhere in North Borneo. Had one ever existed surely we might have expected to find some relics of Chinese occupation such as brick or stone buildings, temples and tombs, anyhow at the headquarters of an important outpost of the empire. But there is nothing. The only ancient remains of Chinese origin are jars and beads which in olden days were doubtless popular articles of trade. Moreover, even if we allow that Borneo was invaded by Kublai Khan, even if we admit the existence of the Chinese colony and the marriage of its viceroy's daughter to the Sultan of Brunei, these facts do not prove the Chinese origin of the Dusun tribe.

Similarly with (c): admittedly the irrigation works exist, but even if they were made originally by the Chinese, this does not prove that the Dusuns are Chinese, any more than the fact of the Romans having made roads in Britain proves the

¹ *British North Borneo Herald*, June 1, 1923.

British to be Romans. Moreover, such terraced irrigation is found throughout the Malay Archipelago, in the Philippine Islands and in Formosa. Are we then to suppose that, say, the Balinese are of Chinese descent?

The statement (*d*) that the Dusuns as a tribe definitely claim Chinese descent cannot be accepted. There is no such general claim. The stories told by the Dusuns to account for their origin fall into four categories:

(i) The Dusun tribe is the result of a series of unions between a Brunei princess and a Chinese prince—the converse, be it noted, of the historical, or quasi-historical entry in the Brunei Chronicles.¹

(ii) The Dusuns were made by their deity Kinaringan out of natural materials, such as stone, wood, clay.

(iii) The Dusuns were migrants from some country lying to the south-east.

(iv) The Dusuns, in common with the rest of mankind, sprang from a red *nunuk* tree, which put forth magic leaves that were wafted by the wind to all corners of the earth and became human beings.

The story which claims unilateral descent from the Chinese is by no means general, though it does exist. But if this claim is to be considered proof positive of the descent, how are we to get over the variants in the way of reputed pedigrees? We have no better grounds for accepting one legend than we have for accepting another.

(*e*) There are several versions of the legend of the Dragon of Kinabalu, but its essential points may be summarized as follows: the existence on the summit of the mountain now called Kinabalu of a dragon which guarded a jewel of fabulous price; the quest and theft of the jewel by the Chinese; the destruction of their junks, which prevented them from returning to their native land, and the disappearance of the dragon. Mr. Hewett explains this legend as an allegory: the dragon is the symbol of China and here represents the Chinese Province in North Borneo guarding the precious jewel—the rich trade of China. The stealing of the jewel refers to the action of the Dutch who filched the trade of the Eastern seas; the disappearance of the dragon is the withdrawal of the Chinese Government and the abandonment of the province. The Chinese left behind were the settlers from whom (as Mr. Hewett maintains)

¹ This legend is related on p. 249.

the Dusuns claim descent. As a result of this we have (again according to Mr. Hewett) the derivation of the name Kinabalu, "the Chinese Widow," which Mr. Hewett, and many others with him, suppose was the name given to the mountain by the Brunei Malays when the Chinese Government abandoned their colony.

All this is very ingenious, but it seems to be a case of *post hoc non propter hoc*. The legend of the dragon may, or may not, be connected with a Chinese settlement in Borneo; if, indeed, it be an allegory it is as reasonable that the jewel should be the trade sought by the Chinese, and the dragon a storm which wrecked their junks. Moreover it is fairly certain that the name given to the great mountain of Borneo cannot be derived from the Malay words *kina* and *balu* meaning 'Chinese' and 'widow.' The derivation of this name has been thrashed out so many times that it is unnecessary to go over the controversy again in full.¹ It is enough to say that the "Chinese Widow" interpretation is villainous Malay syntax, since in Malay the adjective invariably follows the noun, so that in Malay "Chinese Widow" would be *balu kina*. Moreover, it seems utterly unlikely that the mountain which overshadows the whole country would have remained unnamed until the Chinese (as Mr. Hewett believes) abandoned their province two hundred years ago; and this is certainly not the interpretation of the name by the Dusuns who live under its shadow and must have given a name in immemorial times to the outstanding natural feature of their land. The Dusun name is Nabalu, or Nabahu, derived from the Dusun word *bahu* meaning resting-place of the dead, and since the mountain is believed to be the home of departed spirits, this seems to be the most reasonable explanation of the name.

It would have been unnecessary to deal with Mr. Hewett's claim in detail had it not received the attention of two learned societies and been published in the Press. But even if we were to admit all Mr. Hewett's points to be valid, the theory would remain unproved. The invasion by Kublai Khan, the union of the Chinese lady with the Brunei prince, the irrigation works, the Dusun claim to be Chinese, the dragon legend and the derivation of Kinabalu: none of these things proves anything but Chinese influence, and that there has been Chinese influence

¹ Those interested in this controversy will find the following references useful: *British North Borneo Herald*, September 1, 1892; July 1, July 15, and November 3, 1914; Owen Rutter, *British North Borneo*, pp. 29-30; J. C. Moulton, *A Collecting Expedition to Mount Kinabalu*, p. 4; I. H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, pp. 274-90.

in North Borneo in the past is true enough. But Chinese influence does not prove the Chinese origin of the Dusun tribe which, Mr. Hewett would have us believe, is not the result of a fusion but of pure Chinese descent.

And if the Dusuns are of pure Chinese descent, whence came the stock from which they have been bred? It is unlikely that any great number of women accompanied the Khan's expeditions in the thirteenth century; in any event we know that female emigration from China has only recently been permitted. Then there are no traces of Chinese in the Dusun language, which is polysyllabic. How did this pure-bred Chinese race come to abandon its tonic, monosyllabic tongue and its written characters? What became of the Chinese culture, religion, social fabric, family law and legal codes? As an anonymous writer in the *British North Borneo Herald*¹ pertinently asks, "What cataclysmic social upheaval swept these away and left the simple Dusun compassed about with *adat* of every description, none of which can be faithfully identified as being due to Chinese influence? . . . By what strange process of retrograde evolution did these pure-bred Chinese, though still maintaining their strict endogamous morality, degenerate in such a comparatively brief space of time to such low types as the Tegas?"

If we leave Mr. Hewett's extreme contentions and examine a more moderate theory, that the Dusuns are descendants of an aboriginal race and the Chinese, we are still faced with a case that cannot be proved on existing evidence. Undoubtedly the Chinese did take wives from the native races they found in Borneo, just as they take them still: but such intermarriage could not have been on a sufficiently large scale to have produced a hybrid race retaining all, or almost all, the characteristics of its pagan progenitors. To take again the analogy of the Romans in Britain: the Romans intermarried freely with the Welsh, but that does not make the modern Welshman a Roman.

The most that can be said is that in certain districts, such as Putatan, Papar and Bundu (but not on the Kinabatangan River), there has been a certain amount of infiltration of Chinese blood among the Dusuns. Writing of seventy-five years ago, Sir Spenser St. John mentions² that many natives of Klias, Padas, Membakut and Putatan spoke Chinese very fairly, an accomplishment they certainly have no longer. Some of the children of these mixed unions still adopt the surname (*seh*) of the Chinese

¹ April 4, 1923.

² *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i. 311.



Photo

JOHN SONG

A COAST DUSUN
With valuable jar.

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father and until recently wore a short queue. Occasionally a strong Chinese cast of feature is found, especially among the Bundu Dusuns, who are fairer than their neighbours. This is, however, curiously local. Between the Papar and the Putatan Rivers there are small communities of Dusuns who, as hill-dwellers, have not been sought so frequently in marriage by the Chinese; they are for the most part purely Dusun in physiognomy and quite a contrast to the Putatan people.

It is easy to see, too, how Chinese settlers and traders introduced articles, such as the jars already mentioned, possibly gongs and the brass wire ornaments worn by the Dusun women; that they influenced the Dusun methods of agriculture may be accepted also, and there are traces of Chinese influence in the pottery and brasswork that are still extant in the State. But all this shows influence only and not Chinese origin, and is limited to certain Dusun groups. Therefore the most that can be said is that in times gone by there were considerable Chinese settlements at points on or near the coast, and that some of these settlers intermarried with the women of the neighbouring Dusun villages and left behind traces, both racial and cultural. Nothing more. Even so, it is doubtful if these settlements could have been extensive, for the pagans of North Borneo are imitative by nature, and it is curious that, if there was much contact between them and the Chinese, they did not adopt more of the customs of the foreigner or learn more from him, particularly since they were primitive and untutored folk and the Chinese were representatives of a dominant and cultured race.

CHAPTER III

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

§ I

Personal Appearance. The typical pagan of North Borneo has three invariable physical characteristics : straight, jet-black hair, eyes the colour of a dark chestnut, and a rich brown skin. In shade the pigmentation of the skin shows more variation than the hair and eyes, but is almost as consistent in colour. There is, undoubtedly, a tendency towards a distinctly darker tint among natives whose mode of life exposes them regularly to the rays of the tropical sun but, speaking generally, the pagan of Borneo is a darkish brown, the colour of coffee slightly diluted with milk, or of a well-used leather suitcase.

In stature the race is small and, with a few exceptions, the men do not exceed a height of about five feet four inches, the women being normally three or four inches shorter. Both sexes are broad, stocky and well developed. The life of a villager in a mountainous tropical country entails really hard physical labour. In the hill-country the rice-fields are usually some distance from the village. The work of clearing the jungle from a precipitous hill-side, of dibbling in the seed, of weeding, and, later, of bringing home the harvest, calls for well-developed sinews and lungs. The hunter and the collector of jungle produce work in the forested mountain country, and the trading ventures of the community mean journeys of days and even weeks over heart-breaking hills with loads of fifty or sixty pounds. This carrying is shared equally by both sexes, and the women, besides undertaking a large share in the agricultural activities of the community, are held responsible for the domestic needs of the household. It is their lot in life to fetch home from the farm the rice or potatoes which are to provide the rations for the day, to provide the firewood and carry water, to pound and winnow the husk from the rice, to herd and feed the family swine and generally to undertake the drudgery of the home.

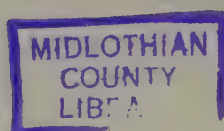
In the lowlands, the cultivation of wet rice has the mitigation of flat land, but this solitary advantage is purchased at the cost



Photo

KOLUR MURUTS

N. B. Robinson



of hours of toil in the muddy and stagnant waters of the unshaded rice-swamps. There is no room in the native village for the cripple or the decrepit, and it is only the fittest who survive the strain. Even children are pressed into service, and in the vicinity of any pagan village one will often see boys and girls of eight or ten carrying heavy baskets of grain or wood as their contribution to the needs of the family.

A young pagan of either sex can be very attractive in appearance. The brown eyes and black hair set off a face which is usually round and chubby. A wide mouth and a short, rather splayed nose give an air of geniality, for in youth, at any rate, the pagan has a well-developed sense of humour which finds expression in the face. Childhood and youth in North Borneo, as in other parts of the tropics, are short-lived. The boy or girl of yesterday is the man or woman of to-day, and to-morrow will have degenerated into the toothless, wizened figure which is such a familiar sight crouching over the embers in any native hut up-country.

In a land where difficulties of communication make the registration of vital statistics almost impossible, it is not easy to estimate even approximately the average age at which to expect puberty, marriage and death, but it is fairly safe to say that 17 is a general age for marriage and that 65 is a very considerable and even unusual age for a native to attain. Mr. F. E. Lease, who for many years was Manager of Sapong Estate, puts the expectation of life between 35 and 40 years, and tells me that he has seen three generations of chiefs in the interior in twenty-five years.

Census Figures. The stress of life among the pagans has two very marked results. Old age and exhaustion come earlier than they do among folk who lead less strenuous lives, and on the women the effect, so far as the bearing and rearing of children are concerned, is disastrous. Small families are the rule rather than the exception, and although the country's development is too recent for any reliable data, a study of its Census records, admittedly imperfect and incomplete, shows that the ratio of children born is hardly sufficient to maintain the numbers of the native population, while the excessive death-rate among the infant and non-adult population reduces this margin to vanishing point.

The figures of the 1921 Census show that since 1911 the pagan tribes have increased by approximately 12 per cent. This figure would be satisfactory if it represented an actual increase, but further analysis shows that apparently it does not. The

average number of children (14 years and under) in each pagan family is 1.93¹ and the proportion of children to the total pagan population is only 35.85, or slightly over one third of the whole. It follows that a race with an adolescent population that is only fractionally more than one third of the mature population is, so far from increasing, scarcely reproducing itself. One can only conclude, with regret, that the apparent increase is due to more efficient enumeration. Although the Census figures show the Murut increase (excluding Tagals) as 12.19 per cent, Mr. D. R. Maxwell, the Officer in charge of the Census, states in his Report (p. 68): "It is indeed doubtful whether the Murut race as a whole is holding its own in numbers."

The chief causes of this lack of increase are three. A recent influenza epidemic played havoc amongst the up-country people; enlistment of young men in estate labour forces, and, to a less degree, in the native Constabulary, tends to keep down undisturbed and natural increase. But the third cause is the most fundamental: infant mortality, which is aggravated by the native mother's ignorance of the elements of hygiene and cleanliness and by what Mr. C. R. Smith, District Officer of the Civil Service, describes as "the almost universal use of fermented liquor as a panacea for all infant ills."²

Commenting on the 12.41 per cent increase in the Tambunan district (since the 1911 Census), Mr. Maxwell says (p. 20): "If then in spite of fermented liquor, ignorance, infant mortality and scourges the up-country Dusuns, when left to themselves, can increase 12.41 per cent, it is not too much to say that if these obstacles could be eliminated, even partially, the rate of growth would vastly increase." It may be so; and even if the cause of non-increase is psychological rather than physical we must agree with him when he says the Dusuns would repay greater attention to their welfare.

In former days smallpox and cholera periodically scourged the pagan population; the last smallpox outbreak was in 1914, and now vaccination is fairly general, while any symptoms of cholera are quickly dealt with. The most common causes of illness nowadays are malaria, ankylostomiasis, yaws, lung troubles and skin diseases; venereal disease is also not uncommon even in the remoter districts, having been introduced there, it is said, by the Arab and Dayak traders. The native pharmacopœia is very rudimentary, consisting mainly of leaves and roots,

¹ The total for "All Native Races" is estimated at 2.16, but the Report (p. 48) suggests that 1.75 would be the safer figure.

² *Census Report*, 1921, p. 19.

decoctions of which are made and applied. This knowledge, supposed originally to have been revealed in dreams, is chiefly in the possession of old women who hand it down. The Muruts practise a form of augury in the inspection of pigs' livers if a patient is very seriously ill.¹

§ 2

Dress and Ornament. The generally splendid physique of the North Borneo pagan is well displayed by the costume which, in its essentials, is common to all the more primitive Mongoloid races, from the Abors of Upper Burma through the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, through the Philippine Islands up to Formosa.

The men's dress is well adapted to a tropical climate, being simple, and yet adequate for the purposes of decency. It consists of a loincloth (*chawat*) which, passed between the legs, covers the private parts and is then wound round the waist. In its pristine form, a short length of tree-bark, beaten into flexibility, is the material from which this simple covering is made, but the costume lends itself to an infinity of variation. A young native dude, who can afford the extravagance, will devote twenty yards or so of cloth to his *chawat*. One end, brightly embroidered or slashed with cloth of a contrasting colour, hangs down in front in the form of an ample apron while the other end, equally resplendent, hangs down at the back and partially covers the buttocks. The rest of the cloth is wound, fold upon fold, about the waist. This sash-like ceinture serves many purposes. It offers a pocket or sachel for the tobacco-pouch or the box in which the areca-nut and other ingredients for the native 'chew' are stored; into its folds can be tucked the brass hooks of the pipe or the hangers of the knife, while the garment itself provides a comfortable and hygienic protection against the chill of the mountain air and, to a limited extent, against hostile weapons.

In addition to the *chawat* may be worn a coat, often sleeveless, of the squarest and least complicated cut. This again varies in its texture from tree-bark to cloth of native weaving or, nowadays, of alien manufacture. Its decoration affords scope for the display of ornament: a piping or a patch of some contrasting colour, a cowrie shell or two to button the coat at the neck, while sometimes the coat serves as protective mail by being plastered thickly with cowrie and other tropical shells.

¹ For details of augury practice, see p. 232.

The 'tail-mat' (*tikar burit*) is a feature of the costume used by many of the highland tribes. Made of the skins of jungle beasts or of rattan, plaited in patterns of black and yellow, about a foot across and eighteen inches in length, these mats serve the purpose of portable camp chairs permanently attached to the person of the wearer and protect him from contact with the ground when he squats. Among those tribes which habitually use this protective device, any man who is not wearing his *tikar burit*, will, before squatting, select a suitable piece of wood to ensure a dry seat. This habit is interesting. It is not one for which any reasonable explanation can be elicited on inquiry, but it may be noted that one of the most fruitful sources of hæmorrhoids is the exposure of the anus to cold and wet.

The hill people who pass their lives in the shady aisles of the jungle usually go bare-headed, but among the tribes which inhabit the more open parts of the country a head-covering is common. Large plaited rattan sun-hats (*saroung*)¹ are worn by both sexes and, as one approaches the cleared country near the coast, where the tropical sun can exert its full force, one finds the shelter of the *saroung* fortified by the head-cloth (*dosta*) worn under it and folded turban-wise round the head. There is an infinity of art and differentiation in the head-cloth, just as there is in the *saroung*. Some villages affect the square of blue imported cloth, relieved, perhaps, by embroidery. Others, nearer to the skilled weavers among the Illanuns, have adopted the floreated squares which are the produce of their neighbours' looms.

Contact with aliens has, of course, led to material modifications of the simple garb of a few years ago, and in many parts of the coastal districts a native wearing a *chawat* is nowadays regarded as a curiosity by his more sophisticated brethren. Here the *chawat* was ousted by the wide, shapeless Chinese trousers, and they, in their turn, are being replaced by cheap trousers and 'shorts' cut on European lines. The bare torso is now hidden by a dirty, torn singlet or a khaki coat devoid of buttons, while the picturesque *saroung* is replaced by a felt or straw hat.

For the women, the normal dress is a narrow, short petticoat reaching to the knees and girdled about the waist by a fold. Besides ornaments and jewellery, a coat or a mantle-cape may be worn, but additions of this sort are rather a matter of personal taste and convenience, and there is no prudish prejudice against the display of a woman's breasts, although in some districts and

¹ See p. 121 for a more detailed description of these.



Photo

HILL MURUTS IN FULL DRESS

Showing tail-mats. The central figure is wearing Argus pheasant feathers in his head-dress, the others have hornbill feathers.

Man Singh

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particularly among the Kiau Dusuns, an unmarried girl will usually wear a narrow strip of cloth across the breasts, kept in its place by strips of coloured rattan.

Even near the coast the women have been more conservative than the men and, with the exception of occasional stockings and shoes, it is rare indeed to see any direct imitation of European costume. Those who live in closest contact with the alien world have adopted the graceful and comfortable costume of the Malay women and use the picturesque *sarong*, the flowered petticoat-skirt of the East, and a white or coloured loose coat of muslin.

Usually, however, any modification has meant the use of improved material and a greater attention to the decorative part of the costume. As a general rule, the seams of the native skirt and coat are made with ornamental stitching in coloured thread, the cut and fit of the garments are studied with greater care and there is a tendency to discard the cruder jewellery of brass or rattan in favour of silver or gold. A belle of the lower Papar in holiday garb wears a black velveteen skirt, knee-high or longer, relieved by the bright colouring of the embroidered seam, a belt of silver dollars linked together by chains, a white chemise covered by a close-fitting black velveteen coat, with tight long sleeves. The coat is fastened by silver or gilt brooches or buttons, but opens sufficiently to give glimpses of the white linen beneath. Girdles of small brass rings may be worn below the silver belt and a bright conical *saroung* completes a costume which is neat, becoming and characteristic.

The methods of personal adornment in vogue among the pagans of North Borneo are so akin to those adopted by European races that they evoke a ready sympathy. The North Borneo folk do not follow the custom of some of the Sarawak tribes in elongating the ear-lobe, and there is no instance of the extraordinary distortions and mutilations practised by savages and even semi-civilized races elsewhere; in fact every feature of the Borneo man's or woman's pursuit of beauty can, with one or two exceptions, be duplicated in the fashion papers of London or Paris. In Europe, men's hair is cut short and so the sex does not feel the need for the hairpins of bone with which the Murut fastens up his long black hair, leaving a fringe in front. The pagan woman has not learnt the comfort of the 'shingle' and wears her hair long, shining with coconut oil, and draws it straight from her forehead into a neat 'bun' at the back. In Europe, glistening white teeth are attributes of beauty, while in Borneo pains are often taken to blacken them, and the

incisors are sometimes filed. In all else, vanity, both of men and women, runs on lines which Europeans appreciate.

Elaborate hairpins, flowers, often sweetly scented, pinned in the hair, necklaces, rings, girdles of jewellery, brooches and ornamental buttons, bracelets and anklets, all have the same attraction for the Borneo maid as they have for the European, though it must be admitted that the heavy brass anklets in vogue among the Tuaran women, and the coils of brass wire still worn by the Rungus round neck and arms and legs are neither comfortable nor pleasing to our eyes. One of these brass anklets in my collection weighs as much as 4 lbs, and the women are loath to part with them, since, having been so long accustomed to the weight, they find it difficult to walk without them. The use of the brass spirals seems to be confined to the Dusuns of the Marudu and Kudat districts; I have never seen them worn by the men, but apparently this was once the fashion, for Witt (Diary, May 24, 1881) mentions that: "The Tinagas Dusun men and women alike wear the neck spiral, and the former also a closely-fitting spiral around the biceps."

The Borneo man decks himself with rings; he parallels the sailor or the gipsy with his earrings and his tattooing; he wears the bracelets and neck-chains which some of our own exquisites are not ashamed to use; his tobacco-box and sireh-box are the counterpart of the cigarette-case and snuff-box of Europe, and it is only when one comes to the weapons he carries as part of his daily outfit that the parallel fails. It fails only on account of the different century in which the pagan of Borneo lives. A century or a half ago, the dandy of St. James's prided himself on the hilt of the rapier he wore as a matter of course, just as the Borneo pagan of to-day prides himself on the silver, ivory or carved bone handle of his sword or the mounting of his spear-head.

§ 3

Tools and Implements. In a country where until recently a man's life and the lives of his family depended largely on his prowess in war and depend even now on his ability literally to carve a livelihood from the earth and the jungle, the question of arms and armament is one of vital importance. For the peaceful operations of every-day life, the felling and clearing of jungle for the rice-field, the cutting of timber, bamboo and palm-leaf for the construction of a house, for clearing a track through the tangled undergrowth of the forest or for the ordinary chores about the house, there is endless use for the *parang*, the ordinary



Photo

Dorothy Kutter

A DUSUN GIRL OF MARUDU
Wearing brass spirals.

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working-knife which each native instinctively fastens to his waist as he leaves home. There is no stereotyped pattern, but the type is a stout blade of steel a foot or fifteen inches long, firmly fixed in a plain handle whittled from one of the commoner woods. A sheath, cut out of wood to fit the blade and bound with strips of rattan, is equipped with a string to button round the waist or has a prong of wire or wood which can be poked into the folds of the *chawat*. Used ambidextrously, this universal tool serves all the purposes for which civilization has devised its saw and chisels, its rasps and gouges. There are not many jobs which a native cannot accomplish with a few deftly applied blows of his *parang*, whether it be the lopping of a tree to provide firewood or a piece of carving for the finial of his house.

The rougher work of felling big timber is usually reserved for the *biliong*, a small axe-head with a cutting edge about three inches broad, whipped with rattan on to a flexible wooden handle. Set parallel to the axis of the haft, it serves as an axe; and two men, plying these tools, will fell any giant tree in the jungle with extraordinary facility. A turn of the blade, and the wielder is provided with a very efficient adze to square up and level off the planks he has split from a suitable tree.

For the finer work of delicate carving or of splitting rattan, a small knife, often slung by a rattan cord around the neck, is used, but it is only a refinement, which a skilled handler of the *parang* will often scorn.

§ 4

Weapons of a more warlike nature are found in every village, and every able-bodied man will, as a matter of course, possess at least one and probably more of them. They may conveniently be divided into four classes, the projective, the distant offensive, the close offensive and the purely defensive.

Projective Armament. A fact which appears to provide evidence against any comparatively recent migration from Asia or any intimate contact with the Chinese is that the bow, a weapon in such general use throughout the world, is not used by the native tribes of Borneo. Bows have been found forming apparently part of the funeral equipage of deceased warriors in caves on the Kinabatangan River, and the following incident shows that the idea is not unknown to some of the pagans. I once described the bow and arrow to an elderly Dusun of Pau (upper Tuaran) and asked him if the Dusuns had ever used such weapons. He replied that in the olden days they were used for spearing fish. In an hour he had fashioned a crude bow and

arrow ; but the arrow was attached to the bow by a strand of rattan.

The principle of the bow to discharge a projectile is of common use in the spring-traps which are set by the pagans alongside jungle tracks for the destruction of game or, on occasion, of foes, but, as portable weapons for the use of man, the bow and arrow are not found. It is difficult to believe that a people which had ever acquired the use of a weapon so valuable and efficient would have abandoned its use, and it seems to follow that the stock from which the pagans of Borneo sprang had not learned the use of the bow when the cleavage took place, and also that the pagans have never had any opportunity of acquiring that use since they came to the island.

An efficient substitute for the bow is in common use. The blowpipe (*sumpitan*), a wooden tube six to nine feet long, lacks only the range of the bow and the penetrative power of the arrow to be their equal in efficiency.¹ In the thick jungles, range is not of paramount importance, and the lack of penetration of the blowpipe dart is remedied by the use of poison.

The darts are carried in a case hooked on to the folds of the *chawat* and made of a joint of bamboo, with a close-fitting lid of the same material. When the pipe is to be brought into action, the dart is fitted carefully into the mouthpiece and expelled by a sharp puff of breath. In defiance of all ideas of leverage, the pipe is held in both hands quite a short distance from the mouthpiece and it is surprising how steadily it is aligned on the target. At competitions which are held occasionally in the Interior Residency, the better shots will in thirty seconds put two or three darts into a target representing a man's head at a range of twenty-five yards, and the weapon is habitually used to bring down monkeys, squirrels and other small animals, no small tribute to the accuracy with which it is handled.

To those who have engaged in recent warfare against the pagans of North Borneo, it has always been a comfort that the use of this weapon has to a large extent been abandoned in favour of the muzzle-loading gun. Charged with a handful of black powder, often extracted from Chinese fireworks, and with a projectile of broken metal or glass, the gun makes an encouraging noise which heartens the firer and perhaps alarms the quarry into flight ; but the marksmanship is even poorer than the wretched quality of the armament would appear to warrant, and it is seldom that much material damage is done by musketry. The explosion helps the morale of the firer, but he is as often

¹ For a description of manufacture, see p. 125.



Photos

TENOM MURUT (TENOGUN)
With blowpipe and dart-case.



Alan Sing

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as not the victim of his own weapon which, never of a very high quality, is too highly tried by the loading.

The blowpipe, on the other hand, can be a really deadly weapon in a jungle fight. It is noiseless, it is capable of being fired with great rapidity, the effect of the poison is very rapid and, if a dart misses the target, it does not betray the firer and can be recovered and used again. Unlike the bow, the blowpipe can be fired without movement and in any position. As a sniper's weapon, at the close range which jungle fighting entails, it is incomparable and has many of the advantages of both the bow and the rifle without some of their defects.

With the exception of the blowpipe and, in later days, the muzzle-loading musket, the pagan of North Borneo has no individual projectile weapon. The principles of the catapult and the sling appear to be unknown to him and are not brought into use in any part of his life.

The brass guns of the Mohammedan tribes (*bedil* and *rantaka*) are seldom used by the pagans, the difficulty of obtaining powder for them rendering their acquisition at the high prices which they command a matter of doubtful expediency.

Arms for Distant Offensive. The pagan's most familiar and most trusted weapon is the spear. In shape and size it is of infinite variety. Many spears are designed for particular uses and occasions; others are adapted equally to the hunt, the warpath or as the safeguard against the perils and exigencies of a journey.

An attempt was made, many years ago, to compile a list of the weapons in use among the tribes of North Borneo with the aim of establishing an *index expurgatorius* to include all arms which were solely or primarily fighting weapons, and to permit the possession only of those which were suitable for peaceful pursuits. The mere recital of the names of the different varieties of spears in common use in one district of the State reached such proportions that the project was abandoned as unworkable. To the native connoisseur there is an infinity of gradation in the make and shape of weapons, but such distinctions are almost impossible to convey, and it must suffice to classify the spears broadly as those used pre-eminently for ceremonial or warlike occasions and those intended specifically for hunting, with a large intermediate class for "general utility" weapons.¹

Arms for Close Offensive. Most of the swords used by the pagans have been adopted from the Mohammedan tribes:

¹ For details of manufacture, see p. 124.

such are the Malay *kris*, the long Illanun *kampilan* and the heavy curved *pidah* or *barong* of the Sulus. On the other hand the *gayang* and the *parang hilang* may be classified as the native swords of the pagans and are in general use.¹

Defensive Armament. The pagan of North Borneo has little stomach for close hand-to-hand fighting and prefers, unless the odds are in his favour, a strategic retirement to any *mêlée*. His precautions against personal injury, therefore, combine portability with reasonable protection against the lighter forms of attack. The coats of chain and horn mail, the metal helmets and heavy shields in common use among the pirate invaders (whose strategy always contemplated the possibility of a contact battle) were held to be hampering for the guerilla warfare of the jungle. It is true that the pagans had neither the knowledge nor the raw material which would enable them to turn out the artistic and effective armour of the Mohammedan tribes, but it is equally true that they seldom made use of such armour as came into their possession by conquest or otherwise.

When shields are used on the warpath they are of light wood or even of plaited rattan. In shape they vary from the circular, with a diameter up to 3 feet, to the long narrow oblong, trimmed to an angle at each end, some 4 feet 6 inches long and 12 inches to 15 inches wide. They are similar to those in common use among the natives of Sarawak and reminiscent of those portrayed on the Bayeux tapestry. Their ornamentation consists of crude carvings and of conventional patterns painted on the surface.

Body armour among the pagans is, in the same way, light in material and calculated to turn a dart from a blowpipe or a spear hurled from a distance. A light cap, of plaited rattan or cut from the skin of some jungle animal, serves as a helmet, decorated with feathers from the hornbill or the argus pheasant. A jacket woven of native thread, thickly quilted, or even of tree-bark, overlaid with cowries or slices of cone-shells, may cover the chest and flanks and back, while the abdomen is protected by the lapping folds of the *chawat*, impenetrable to anything but a fierce thrust of spear or *kris* delivered at close quarters.

§ 5

Contact with Civilization. The pagan of North Borneo in his raw, untutored state, scantily clothed, living his own life in his hill village, is a fascinating and rather lovable character. It

¹ See p. 124.



Photo

Dorothy Rutter

TENOM MURUTS

With spear-tipped blowpipes and war-coats decorated with cone-shell,

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is an unpalatable truth that his first contact with civilization does not improve him and, child of nature as he is in his untouched state, he is apt to degenerate at first into a boor, an uncouth hobbledehoy, losing all his simple native culture and absorbing the worst traits of those aliens with whom he comes in contact. It is, however, comforting to find that in places where longer contact with civilization and authority has given time for the first exuberance to cool, he seems to emerge, like a schoolboy, from the unlicked pup stage and become for the most part a staid and passable citizen. This is particularly so in those districts where individualism in property has succeeded communal ownership and the pagan has begun to realize that citizenship has its duties as well as its privileges.

The semi-emancipated savage who has advanced so far on the road to civilization as to acquire a soiled European suit is a most unattractive personality. He becomes a feckless, truculent loafer with a roving, covetous eye, devoid of any but selfish ideas. His toilet is usually his main interest in life and, as work in the tropics is not compatible with the niceties of dress, he prefers to avoid the degradation of toil. This deterioration is not due to a change in his nature, but is caused by a feeling of emancipation, which goes to his head.

In the more primitive communities, the youth is a member of a small community, his village. The customs of tradition, the *patria potestas* of the village headman and the elders, the eye of public opinion, all tend to develop discipline and self-suppression among the young men. They are very small beer in the village which has known them from childhood and there is no scope for the exuberance of youth. A boy's place in the community is definitely marked out. Precocity is not encouraged. In the villages where civilization and ease of communication have begun to have their effect, the sense of tradition, of custom, of deference to the elders is lost or lessened, and the youngster discovers that, in the bigger world outside his village, he may play the fool or the peacock, and that, so long as he keeps within the law, no one will frown upon him.

It is not suggested that a few months of contact with the outer world can change the whole character of a primitive people. The pagans of North Borneo, as one finds them in the back-blocks, have traits and characteristics which one admires and envies. The pagan youth, living as he does a communal existence under one roof with his relations and friends, finds that his whole mode of life is based on the fact that he is a member of a commonwealth, and that on the existence of that

commonwealth his own life and livelihood depend. He and his fellows are interdependent on one another for the planting of their crops, for the transport of their merchandise, for mutual protection whilst travelling abroad. Refusal to play his part in the communal duties, even if tolerated, would bring refusal to help when he needed it. The whole village life is one of communism (in the true sense of that misused word) built up of individualism. A load of food may be left by the wayside or a jungle fruit-tree left unguarded by its owner without danger of pillage by any casual passer-by. That is the individualism. The load and the fruit have definite and well-recognized owners, but their ownership is subject to the equally well-recognized proviso that any passer-by may help himself to food or fruit from a garden, if he eats it on the spot. For the purpose of saving life or assuaging hunger the goods are communal. In the self-centred communities of the hills, punishment of a sneak-thief detected in pillaging, not to calm the pangs of hunger or even of greed, but for his personal advantage, would be swift and sure. The penalty exacted would be heavy and affect not only the individual but his family. I shall deal later with the question of *sagit*, an almost untranslatable word, which denotes a salve or compensation paid by an offender and, failing him, by his relations, usually to the community for an offence against the commonweal.

The whole training of the pagan, from childhood onwards, is based on suppression of the individual interest in favour of a communal spirit. The result is very pleasing. The pagan who has not come in contact with alien influences is a simple, honest yokel to whom the laws of *meum* and *tuum* are sanctified by discipline. "Do as you would be done by" is the maxim by which his life is guided. One does not wish to suggest that every pagan is a paragon, yet in the primitive community, crime, as the pagan sees it, scarcely exists. He will drive a hard bargain, but he will perform his share to the full and without any of the petty chicanery which becomes second habit to him after a few trials of strength with the alien trader. Headhunting, which more orderly authority has now decreed to be a crime, was rather a service to the community, just as a goal at football helps the side; adultery is capable of amicable settlement according to well-recognized tariffs. It is a simple Arcadian existence, but one which is probably easy and pleasant because life is reduced, both in theory and practice, to a basis of practical socialism.

It used, for many years, to be the custom to hold at Tenom, the headquarters of the Interior Residency, an annual gathering

of natives from all districts. The more sophisticated pagans attended with an eye on the food and drink provided for them. The wilder tribes entered into the spirit of the gathering and competed keenly in the sports which formed the day's programme. There was a marked difference between their methods and those of their more civilized brethren. The latter adopted a "win, tie or wrangle" attitude which kept the judges and stewards busily on the watch for sharp practices, whereas the wilder pagans played the game. On one occasion, after a flat race, the competitor who had been given the "first prize" ticket by the judge complained vehemently that he was only second and that Si Mugau was in fact the winner; he refused to be satisfied until the prize tickets had been exchanged.

Mr. F. E. Lease, writing of the interior as it was over twenty-five years ago, tells me that when he began operations at Sapong Estate theft among the Muruts was unknown. He employed 600 carriers at the full moon of every month to get stores up from the coast and if one of them could not bring his load of rice, or whatever else he was carrying, to the estate he left it by the side of the road and there it remained until he was able to fetch it. Any article dropped on the road was picked up and put on a stump or such handy place as would enable the loser to find it easily, and all the nickel coin was carried into the interior in open baskets without the loss of a cent.

The untutored savage has a code which civilization may perhaps consider faulty, but he observes it. Civilization has imposed on the natives within its sway a code which is alien to, and in some ways above, the scope of their ideas and intelligence. In the process it sweeps away some of the tenets of the primitive law and disorganizes the rules and customs which moulded and guided the native mind. The result is a chaos, out of which is evolved a character that is neither very admirable nor very creditable. It seems probable that when the pagans have sown the wild oats of emancipation and have realized that the bigger world also has its bounds and limitations, they will become once more pleasing and tractable citizens. The sense of discipline is still there but it is, for the moment, stunted by the weeds which have grown up. As the intoxication of the moment is succeeded by the sobriety which continued contact with the outer world should produce, the potential good in the native character, now dormant, will regain its full force.

Those who do not know the pagan as he is, have dubbed him treacherous. Unsympathetic critics have made play with the alleged treachery displayed not only against his own kith and kin

in village feuds, but in his relations with Europeans. These are hardly fair criticisms. The stealthy approach to the victim in a headhunting raid, the swift attack and the hurried flight are all part of the rules. Their moral aspect is as negligible as the similar craft displayed by a hunter after game. Headhunting is no crime to the native intelligence, and the warrior is only doing his best to bring to a successful issue a thoroughly honourable undertaking in which he may, at any moment, find himself the hunted.

The charge of treachery against the rule which the white man seeks to impose upon him seems to leave out of reckoning the fact that even a pagan of Borneo has a love for his own country and customs, a feeling of tribal pride and independence. Rebellion against authority must, in the nature of things, be secretive and, if one reversed the position and could visualize a few pagans penetrating England and imposing laws and customs which were contrary to every national ideal, we should hail as a hero any man who had the courage to try to rid the fatherland of the invader and oppressor, however secretive the methods adopted. The laws of the white ruler must appear fantastic and radical to the brown man, but unthinking critics call him treacherous when he sets himself to rid his country of what he thinks to be unreasoning tyranny.

The wonder is rather that he should have shown himself so adaptable and so amenable to the new discipline, the need of which he often cannot understand. Without sentimentalizing, I think one may say that in the main he is a likeable, friendly, tractable soul, and the danger is that new conditions are coming upon him too quickly.

The Government certainly has the interests of the indigenous population at heart. Their customs are respected and the taxes they have to pay are not heavy. The Government is at some pains to get them vaccinated and safeguards native labourers on estates against exploitation or oppression: contracts are invalid if made for a period exceeding one month, no advance exceeding \$5 is recoverable, and employers of twenty or more native labourers are required to take out a licence.

Nor has the matter of education been neglected: at all events a small beginning has been made. Of course the Roman Catholic Mission (St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society) was first in the field. It is still the only Mission which works among the pagans, and its work is confined to the Dusuñs; the principal schools are at Papar and Putatan, where pupils are taught religion, reading and writing in their own language and

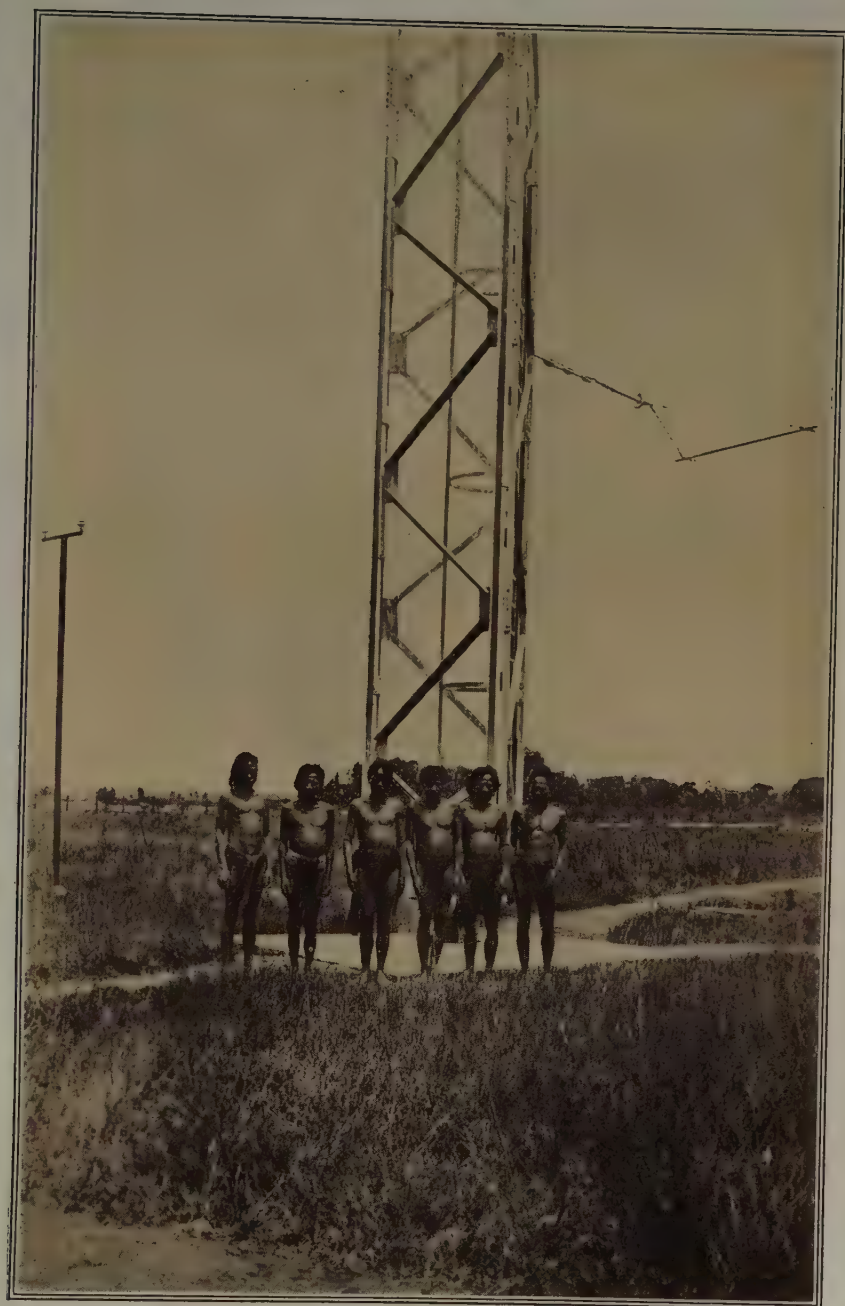


Photo by courtesy of

H. W. L. Bunbury

THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW
A group of Hill Muruts at Jesselton Wireless Station.

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in English. After the war the Government turned its attention to native education and opened vernacular schools at Papar and Kota Belud; these were intended to cater mainly for the Mohammedan population at the coast, but in July 1922, in furtherance of the policy of paying special attention to the education of the indigenous population, a third school was opened in the interior, at Keningau, one of the two schoolmasters from Kota Belud (a Malay from the Federated Malay States) taking charge. The subjects taught are Malay, reading and writing, and arithmetic. There are now eight of these vernacular schools in the territory, and although they are mainly attended by Mohammedans the policy is to extend educational facilities to the pagans as well, beyond the sphere of the Mission's influence. Attendance is voluntary and a small fee of 25 cents (7d.) a month is charged to parents of pupils in these schools, the cost to the Government being \$2 monthly per pupil. The Government also maintains in Jesselton a training school for the sons of native chiefs and headmen, irrespective of race and creed. This has been a success, and it is said that the Murut boys easily take first place for intelligence and mental development. There is no secondary or higher education in the State.

For the pagan times are changing fast and he inevitably will change with them. Those who know him will hope that he will not change too fast, and that the appliances and conveniences with which Western civilization supplies him will not cause him to lose an interest in life : that interest which comes, and always has come, from his having to fend for himself. From time immemorial he has been dependent upon himself and his fellows for his daily needs. Supplying those needs has formed the occupation of his life. Once that ever-present occupation is gone history shows that disaster comes to a native race.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

§ I

Habitations. The pagan village is a self-contained, self-sufficing community, independent, if need be, of the outer world. Indeed, in the hill-country the term 'village' is a misdescription. It suggests a cluster of cottages, like an English hamlet, each housing a separate family. But the true pagan village of the Borneo hills recalls rather a mediæval fortress which, under its feudal lord, gave harbourage at night to a band of peasants who, during the day, laboured in the surrounding farmlands, under the guardianship of the men-at-arms. The great narrow house, often as much as three hundred feet long, perched on some hill-top and set high above the ground on great timber posts, gives shelter to the whole community. To-day there are no serfs in that community. Its members form a small republic, each with his appointed duty, under the presidency of the headman. The space beneath the house, enclosed by wooden barricades, provides a shelter for cattle, pigs and fowls and a barrier against an attacking force. The hill-sides which slope steeply from the ridge along which the house runs, form the fields in which the crops are planted. Each year a new patch of jungle is felled and burnt off for the next crop until, the nearer slopes having been exhausted and abandoned to the secondary forest, the time comes for the community to move and build a new house in some virgin spot.¹

The design of the fortress house in the Murut country is invariable, though its dimensions depend on the number of families for which it has to provide shelter. It is a long barn-like structure with a high-peaked roof. Along the centre runs a corridor, eight to ten feet wide, and on either side of this passage is a row of dark cubicles, about ten feet square. Each of these is the private dwelling of a family, serving as kitchen

¹ This has been the normal procedure for generations. Government measures against this indiscriminate felling of virgin forest are mentioned in the following chapter.

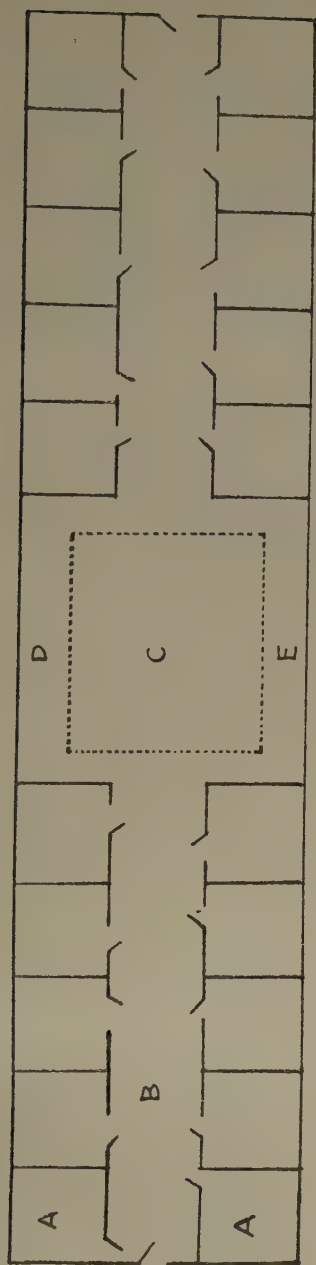


Photo by courtesy of

MURUT HOUSE, PENSIANGAN DISTRICT

H. W. L. Burbery





- A. Cubicles.
- B. Corridor.
- C. Dancing-floor.
- D. Common Room.
- E. Guest Chamber.

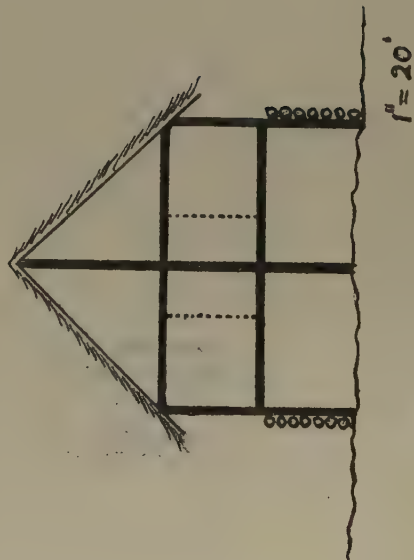


FIG. 3.—Plan of Murut House.

and bedroom for a man and his wife with their unmarried children, the young girls sometimes sleeping on a platform above the cubicle. Figure 3 shows the plan of a typical Murut house.

The line of cubicles is broken in the centre of the house to provide space for the dancing-floor. A raised platform (*balai*) against the wall on either side, six feet or more in width, forms a passage way and assembly place. On one side there is usually a hearth and this space forms the village common-room, where the men gather to gossip in the evenings and where the widowers and bachelors sleep. The space on the opposite side is reserved as a guest chamber, and here the District Officer on his rounds places his camp-bed and table, eating and sleeping *coram publico*. In between these two open rooms, the floor is set on springing timbers, the butts being built firmly into the main structure of the house, leaving the tips free play. Poised on them, this section, some twenty feet square, forms the village dancing-floor, the scene of all the ceremonial or festive dances of the community.

Access to the house is given by a door at either end of the building, a notched log serving as steps. These doors are open all day and closed at night, a hole cut in the base allowing the dogs to come and go as they will. There are no chimneys and the smoke has to escape as best it may under the low eaves or through the crannies of the roof, which becomes shiny black with the grime of years. There are seldom any windows and light can enter only through the open doors and through those holes by which the smoke escapes, but occasionally the roof may be made so that a section of it can be propped open like a skylight, as shown in the illustration.

Each cubicle is provided with a mud hearth, often with a light bamboo framework over it for cooking-pots. The space above the cubicles, and the vault of the high-peaked roof, serve as store rooms; traps of rattan and bamboo, bark bins full of unhusked rice, baskets, discarded scraps of clothing, and weapons not immediately required for use are all stowed away in these dark recesses. In olden days the roof space above the dancing-floor was generally reserved for the village heads, the dried skulls of enemies, which were slung in plaited baskets until they were wanted for the ritual of a head-dance. Nowadays, in deference to Government opinion, they are not displayed so openly, though I have slept many a night in a Murut village with a cluster of these grim relics hanging like so many ripe coconuts above my bed.



Photo by courtesy of

MURUT COMMUNAL HOUSE

Showing method of propping open the roof.

H. W. L. Bondary

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In construction these houses are fairly true to type, though there is a certain amount of variation as material is plentiful or scarce. The frame is of simple design. A centre row of posts carries the ridge of the roof, while smaller timbers provide the outer frame and support the wall plates. The timber is usually one of the many varieties of hardwood which abound in the Borneo forest. It is left in the round and seldom barked. The butts are sunk in the ground and the upper ends roughly shaped to take the wall plates. The rafters are of soft light wood and the joists of stouter timber. The place of nails is taken by rattan lashings or occasionally by pegs whittled from bamboo or the harder woods.

In districts where bamboo is scarce, as it often is in the Murut country, broad strips of tree-bark, beaten to flatness, are used to form the floors and walls. When the District Officer's house at Rundum was built it was not practicable to take up Chinese carpenters to saw planks, so tree-bark was used, Murut fashion, for its construction. The reddish-brown walls and floor were decorative enough, but the bark emitted a red dust which covered everything and harboured myriads of cockroaches. One's chairs and tables were always on the wobble and the bark was not considered stout enough to stand the weight of a bed, so the ingenious architect (who was also the District Officer) got four strong posts, cut holes in the floor, and planted them firmly in the ground four feet below; above the floor cross pieces were set to hold planks; on this was laid a mattress stuffed with *kapok*, and one had a perfectly good bed which was more comfortable than it may sound.

In districts where bamboo is plentiful, lengths are carefully split and opened into panels to serve as walls and flooring, or, particularly among the Dusuns of the West Coast, the stems of sago leaves are let into a slotted framework to make the walls of the house and cubicles.

Roofing is equally a matter of local supply. In bamboo areas, such as Tambunan, a common type of roof is one of tiles made from the stems of the bigger bamboos split in half and set in a double layer, the upper layer covering the crevices in the lower, and so giving complete protection against the rain thus :



In districts where the sago palm is available (as on the West Coast) its fronds are collected and sewn on to six-foot lengths

of split bamboo to form an *atap*. These are laid tile-wise on the rafters, to which they are lashed, each of them covering a space some six feet long and, according to the overlap allowed, four to six inches in depth. In default of sago, the fronds of the nipah, which grows abundantly on the lower reaches of every Borneo river, or other jungle palms, are substituted, but these are far more perishable than those of the sturdy sago.

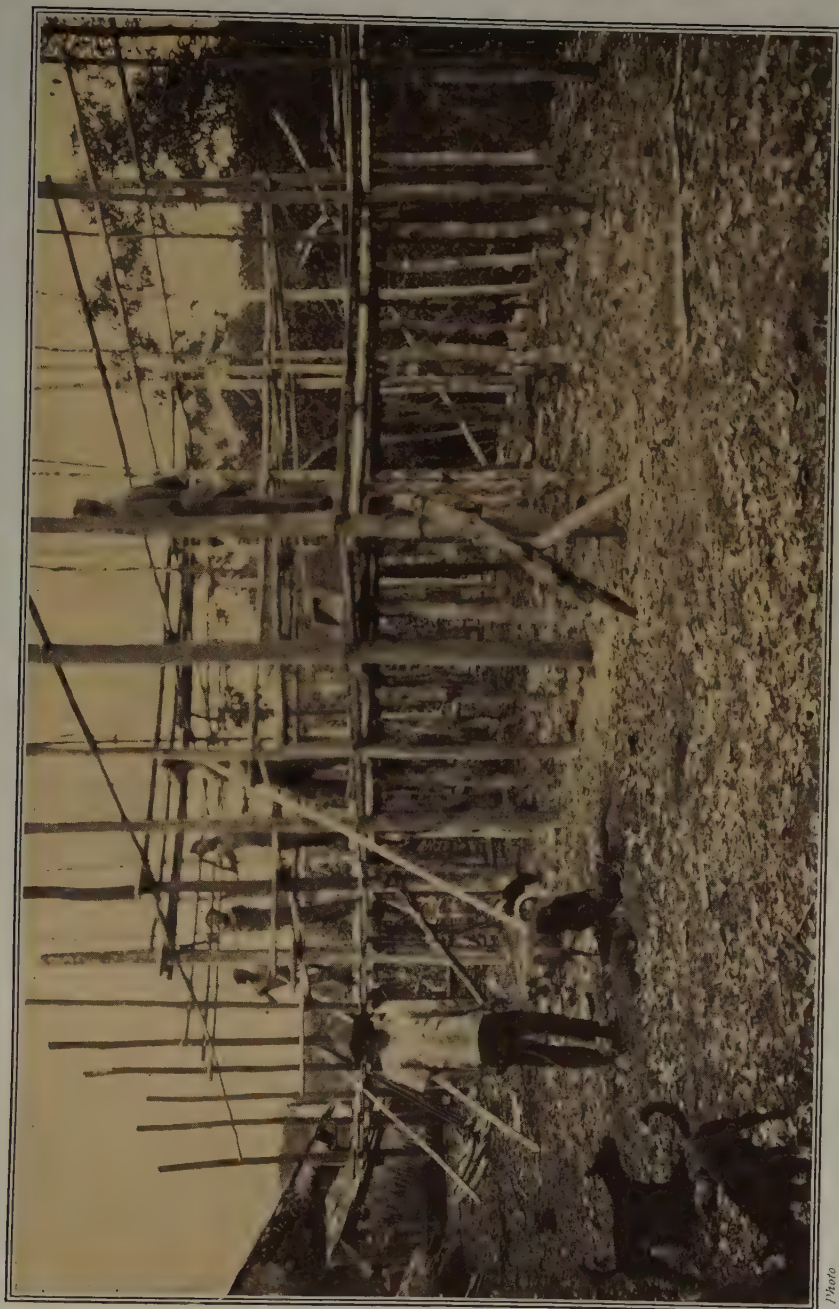
The normal Murut house with the central passage on either side seems peculiar to this part of Borneo, for the design of most pagan long houses, for example those of the Sea Dayaks of Sarawak, is on the basis of cubicles on one side of the house only, opening on to a wide veranda.

But these defensive fortress-keeps, which were the normal structure in North Borneo in days of inter-tribal warfare, have undergone modifications in those parts of the country which have long been settled. The communal building has given place to groups of smaller houses which accommodate two or three families (as in the Dusun highlands of the north and west coasts) and, on the plains, where the sense of security has given full play to the individualistic tendency, each family has its own separate residence, often built alongside the family rice-field and at some distance from other houses belonging to the same village.

By sense of security I do not mean that the Dusuns have taken to this type of house since the coming of the Chartered Company, for St. John records that in 1858 "some of the tribes in the Tawaran have followed the Malay fashion of living in small houses suitable for a single family,"¹ and this custom must have been common, though not universal, on the coastal plains for some considerable period previously. This is interesting, for it shows primitive man's instinct for individual expression as soon as he can afford to dispense with the security that lies in numbers. It is, I think, unquestionably a progressive tendency. Even Borneo pagans, one may suppose, prefer not to herd together under one roof when conditions of life allow them to do otherwise, and the fact that the family house displaces the communal house in direct ratio to the increase of culture among the pagans goes to prove the statement of a correspondent of the *Sarawak Gazette*² that: "The practice of herding together in long houses prevents mental and moral improvement and hinders advance in gardening and planting and agricultural development generally."

¹ *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i. 374.

² 1894, p. 67.



Photo

DUSUN HOUSE UNDER CONSTRUCTION (KUDAT DISTRICT)
The floor is where the builders are standing.

Dorothy Kuttar

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The family house has given scope for a more spacious method of construction and has eliminated the twin rows of cubicles, to give additional accommodation for social gatherings and for visitors. A common type of house among the hill Dusuns of the West Coast is shown in the accompanying sketch plan.

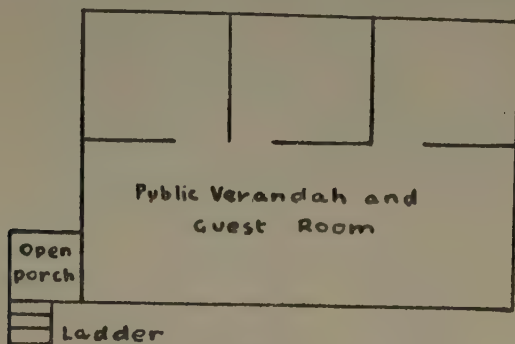


FIG. 4.

These houses are almost invariably thatched with *atap*, and have walls and flooring of split bamboo. Occasionally well-worked planks are found. In the Kiau country, for example, many of the houses have plank walls set in panels, and the carpentry is creditable when one remembers that his adze and cutting-knife are the only tools at the disposal of the pagan. The work is extravagant in wood, but durable. Hard woods are used, the trees when felled being cut in the round into billets some three feet in length. Each block is then split into as many planks as are considered suitable, the result being a number of slabs from 2 in. to 3 in. in thickness, 3 ft. in length, the breadth varying with the diameter of the tree, from 2 ft. 6 in. to 9 in. These are smoothed off, roughly tongued, and are then ready for setting in the panels.

The decrease in defensive capabilities of such a house is obvious. It is isolated, the piles on which it is raised are shorter, so that the living floor is brought closer to the ground, and a ladder of bamboo or wood is provided, giving access to a small porch at the door, and replacing the notched log that, in itself, was a handicap to any attacking party.

These houses are invariably of one story with a kind of loft above the ceiling, as in the long houses, for storing purposes. But when need be the pagan adapts himself to circumstances and it is worth noting that Frank Hatton records in his Diary (April 11, 1882) that the Dusuns on the Ranau Plain (which was then subject to complete inundation), had "a

kind of second story to their houses to which they climb in the wet season, when all the lower part is under water." This type of house no longer exists. Mr. G. H. Vinen, to whom, as District Officer, Tambunan, I turned for specific information, tells me that having made careful inquiries at Ranau he found no one who could even remember such houses : so that their use must have been discontinued for many years. There is no reason to doubt Hatton's statement, for he was a careful observer. From his special mention of them it seems as though these second stories could not have been the ordinary house lofts already referred to (though they may not have been much more) and the explanation of their disuse is that there are now few houses on the Ranau Plain, and that the Plain, which used to be under water for weeks at a time, is no longer subject to inundation. It may be noted that the communal house does still exist on the west coastal plains, and a few specimens are still to be found at Lungab and other villages between Penampang and Putatan.

In districts where the fear of sudden raids has long passed away, the village pigs and cattle roam at will and are not enclosed at night. For convenience each farmer builds in, or near, his fields a small hut of bamboo and palm leaf which gives him shelter while he prepares the ground for his crops and, more important still, guards the ripening grain from the depredations of birds and beasts.

There is a repressive, sullen aspect about the surroundings of one of the long highland villages which is absent in those where the inhabitants have lost the fear of attack and reprisal. In the Murut country, the long house glowers from its sharp ridge over the steep hill-sides which slope steeply down on every side. The whole picture, with its background of solid jungle still uncut, seems lifeless. In the lowlands, on the other hand, the scene is alive. Buffaloes and pigs graze and root in herds, while the villagers with their women and children pass to and from the little shelters on the edge of the rice-fields. In this scene the thought of war and danger is so long past that it might never have been ; in that, it is not yet too far for the instinct for self-preservation to be ever present, or for the habit of herding together in house or fields to have been lost.

§ 2

The Headman. Both on hill and plain, the pagan community centres round the headman, the *orang tua* (old man)



Photo

DUSUN HOUSE, PAPAR

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who by heredity or on account of his outstanding fitness (and occasionally, it must be admitted, because of his overweening disposition) is acknowledged as the village leader.

There is, generally speaking, a graded hierarchy of headmen. Each long house or, where conditions have allowed the more individual dwellings to appear, each cluster of houses, will have its recognized leader. A group of long houses on the same river or a collection of hamlets on the plain will have a superior leader. Sometimes the villages in a defined area will have a paramount chieftain who is acknowledged, tacitly at least, as overlord.

The village headman's position is largely that of *primus inter pares*. He succeeds to, or, upon occasion, usurps his position, but he is careful to consult the elder men, who can, if they choose, support his rather shadowy authority. Amongst peoples to whom writing is unknown, the older men are the depositories of lore and tradition. They are in a position to quote case-law which will form a precedent for most of the problems that present themselves for settlement. From the earliest times the village witenagemot must have been at once the judiciary and the council which decided the policy and affairs of the community.

There is no formal election of the headman. A man occupies the post either by stepping into his father's shoes or because he is the right man. Descent does not necessarily count, but it is usually a recommendation. In earlier days, if a new headman was not acceptable to the whole of the community a cleavage would occasionally take place, and an unsuccessful aspirant might lead his supporters into partial exile and build a new village some distance away. As a rule, however, the instinct for self-preservation made it seem the best policy to sink differences and hang together for the common good.

The post of headman is not a sinecure, but it is not without its reward. The duties a headman owes to his people are compensated by the dues he may reasonably expect them to provide in return : not in the form of tax or tithe, but in service which they give, more or less willingly, to placate him. His rice-field is felled and planted ; he is a welcome guest at any celebration, and in many small ways reaps the harvest of his position.

He has no definite code by which to work. He is not an autocrat, but a headman of strong personality may be a law unto himself. He is almost invariably swayed by public opinion, both in judicial and other matters ; in fact this is one of the prime difficulties of courts of native magistrates who decide

minor cases amongst the pagans. Justice is, as a rule, undoubtedly done, but the evidence on which a decision is based is to a large extent the consensus of local opinion on the subject at issue. The facts are known to all and freely commented on, and public opinion is in the position of a Press unfettered by the fear of commenting on cases that are still *sub judice*. The hearing of the evidence is regarded as a solemn game to be played before judgment can be pronounced.

Under the rule of the Chartered Company the village headman remains the base of the administrative fabric. The system works well and is acceptable to the people as being in keeping with immemorial tradition. The tendency is to consolidate the headman's position as leader of his house or village, make him responsible to the headman of a group of villages, and, through a tribal or district chief, appointed and paid by Government, to the District Officer. Tradition and custom are thus preserved as far as possible and, except where inhumane or unconscionable, are allowed their proper weight in the minor judiciary. The prudent District Officer can do much to strengthen the authority of his chiefs and headmen. It is right that he should do so, for as time goes on the position of the village headman becomes less enviable. About his only 'perk' is the ten per cent commission he is officially allowed on poll tax collections (\$1 per each adult male) from his village. On the other hand the brunt of collecting a new (and so unpopular) tax—such as that on coconut trees used for making toddy (*bahr*) or on hill cultivation (*ladang*)—falls on him. He is also responsible for providing carriers when required for Government officers and for calling out his people to keep bridle paths in repair. Both these services are paid for, but neither can be called popular, especially when the villagers are busy with their fields, and the measure of a headman's personality can usually be gauged by the promptness with which such labour is produced.

§ 3

The Position of Women. The pagans have no purdah system and women take a prominent position in village life. There have been cases, particularly among the coastal groups, where women have succeeded to the position of village headman and have wielded the sceptre with courage and success.

These were exceptional cases, and in general it may be said that the woman ranks with, but after, the corresponding male. She has her definite sphere in the family life and is

responsible for all the tasks of the housewife, while she shares, as far as her strength and time permit, some of the more strenuous tasks of the men. The men fell the jungle for rice-planting, but the women help to dibble the seed, weed the field, and harvest the crop. Both the men and the women carry home the grain, but the women winnow and husk it; they fetch water from the river in the long bamboo containers; they collect firewood; they feed and tend the pigs and fowls; and they cook the family meals. The men hunt game or search for jungle produce, but in the evening, when the day's work is done, both sexes feed together and, at times of festival, share in the dance.

Speaking generally, the sexes are on an equal footing as regards rights and privileges. As will be seen in the chapter on Native Law, girls cannot be coerced into marriages that are distasteful to them, and women have equal rights with men when it comes to divorce, and are entitled to own property. They are usually consulted by their husbands in any matters of importance, and even deferred to. Unlike their Mohammedan cousins, they are never regarded merely as chattels, and I personally have never come across a case of wife-beating in the Borneo hills. The pagan woman has liberty of action and liberty of thought. She deserves to have both, for, in the words of King Lemuel, "she looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness."

The bearing of children is easy to the lusty pagan woman, and a young mother scorns to lie up for more than a few hours before or after the birth of her child. It is commonly believed that when she feels her time is approaching, the Murut woman is in the habit of leaving the house and of retiring to the jungle, where, alone and unaided, she gives birth to her child and returns with the new-born babe slung at her back. Mr. W. Forbes-Moss, who spent some time among the Peluans of the upper Padas in 1886, appears to have been first responsible for this statement. He declares that the Peluan women "never under any circumstances bring forth their progeny in the house," and remarks that he found it a common occurrence for a woman to leave her house in the morning, and, having given birth to her child, to return to work in the rice-field the same day.¹

Now this statement implies that custom decrees that children may not be born in a house. This is certainly not so, either

¹ *British North Borneo Herald*, article "A Fortnight in Peluan Houses," April 1, 1887.

among the pagans generally or among the Peluans in particular. Commenting on this paragraph, Mr. G. C. Woolley says :

“ A woman might go into the jungle if she was stopping at the time in someone else's house ; she might thus avoid having to pay *sagit* to her hosts, i.e. a fine as moral damages for committing a nuisance. She might go alone, or friends might go with her ; never far, as that might be dangerous. As is noted, women were often engaged in their ordinary occupations until within a few hours at most of giving birth to their child. It will thus be easily recognized that the event might occur whilst the woman was on her way to or from the *padi* clearings. She would then turn aside off the track into the jungle, perhaps with her husband, and if the weather was bad, arrange a few leaves and branches to make a temporary shelter. This would be in the nature of an accident ; in some cases a woman might leave the house deliberately, but many births took place in the houses, and there was no custom prohibiting this.”

I think this may be accepted as the general custom among all the pagans, though Mr. H. W. L. Bunbury has pointed out to me that accouchement in the house is definitely prohibited at Tambunan.

The women of the Tuaran group have a habit of eating a dark red clay which is found near the Chinese shops at the Tuaran Government Station, and tastes something like unsweetened chocolate. Mr. E. A. Pearson, who was stationed at Tuaran for some time, tells me that this earth is eaten by women who wish to bear children, since it is supposed to have particular effect at or about the time of the menstrual periods. That is, it is eaten as a means of securing pregnancy and not as a medicine during pregnancy, as Mr. I. H. N. Evans states.¹ It seems to be rather a stealthy habit and the women (naturally enough) are shy about admitting that they eat it ; they dig it out of the ground quite openly but it is always “ for someone else.” Some women undoubtedly become addicts and cannot give up the habit, even when they are long past child-bearing. One elderly Dusun crone told Mr. Pearson that she would rather give up her betel-nut than her daily whack of clay. I have not found this clay-eating practised elsewhere in North Borneo, nor can I trace any reference to it in Skeat and Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, though Mr. Evans mentions that the habit is found in other parts of Borneo, in Java and the Federated Malay States.

¹ *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 115.

Among the pagan women generally abortion is practised, usually by means of a concoction made from the poisonous *tuba* root (*derris elliptica*), but is not prevalent. Mr. C. D. Martyn has drawn my attention to the custom of the Papar women causing miscarriage if they suffer from unlucky dreams during pregnancy.¹ I am uncertain if this custom prevails elsewhere.

The Position of Children. I have already mentioned that the average number of children in a pagan family is not more than two, and that the infant mortality is appalling. Perhaps this is why children enjoy such a distinctly privileged position. The terrible death rate enhances the value of any child who survives to adolescence, with the result that pagan children are treasures to their parents. Although they are not spoiled or pampered, they are seldom corrected or punished. They certainly suffer from few repressions and perhaps that is why, in Murut and Dusun villages, one finds happy, though very dirty babies.

From a very early age the children share the toil and hardships of their parents, but as junior partners rather than as subordinates. They soon take their places as units in the community. There is nothing unpleasant in the precocity which results, but to European eyes it is surprising to see a young Murut or Dusun, self-possessed and devoid of self-consciousness, carrying out tasks which seem far beyond his years.

For the young pagan, childhood hardly exists. He steps almost directly from infancy to adolescence. Almost as soon as he can walk he assumes, in a degree suited to his strength, many of the duties, though not the privileges, of an adult. The boys help their fathers in the fields, in the jungle or on the river; while the girls do their share in water carrying, gathering firewood and usually clean the daily ration of rice in the heavy wooden mortars.

When one revisits a village after an interval of a year or two it is surprising, and not a little sad, to see boys and girls whom one remembers as children, developed into young citizens. Physical development in tropical countries is, of course, early, and the girl of twelve or thirteen is ready for marriage. But the elimination of that care-free period of childhood to which European children are accustomed has an equally forcing effect on mental development. Unless care is taken a crop of very wild oats may be expected, due to physical and mental puberty having come so quickly to bodies and minds not prepared for them.

¹ For dream meanings, see p. 237.

§ 5

Slavery. Among Eastern peoples slavery is a system of more or less paternal adoption, rather than that state of abject servitude which the word denotes to us in Europe. Slavery was undoubtedly a custom in North Borneo from the earliest times, both among the pagan and the Mohammedan tribes, and when the Chartered Company assumed the administration it pledged itself to abolish the practice. Popular opinion at home would not have permitted any other course. The result was that the reform was carried through without the regard to native susceptibilities that was accorded to other native customs.

A beginning was made among the Mohammedan tribes and very soon slavery ceased to exist in the coastal districts; the custom must have lingered on among the remoter pagans, though Sir Ernest Birch, who was Governor of North Borneo from 1901 to 1904, in replying to an inquiry of mine, states that he never had a case of slavery under his notice during his time of office. Certainly one may safely say that there is no slavery in any shape or form, even among the tribes of the far interior, to-day.

Slavery was a more regular and widespread practice among the Mohammedans than among the pagans. But the pagans also had definite regulations by which slaves were acquired, held and disposed of. A man might obtain a slave (*a*) as a prisoner of war, (*b*) by purchase, (*c*) in default of payment of a debt, (*d*) as blood-money for a relative whose head had been taken: a male slave for a man's head, a female slave for a woman's head, and a child slave for a child's head. As mentioned in the chapter on Headhunting, such slaves might be either sacrificed or retained, as was considered expedient. In Pensiangan the compensation paid to a first wife on the husband taking a second included a slave, who was sacrificed.¹ A slave might also be sacrificed during a village feast, or for the purposes of a religious ceremony.

As a rule, however, slaves were regarded more as domestic servants than anything else, whose service to their owners would be impaired if they were neglected or harshly treated. They were hewers of wood and drawers of water, but there was no sense of degradation; they lived as members of their owners' families and there was nothing tangible to distinguish a slave from a freeman. It appears, however, to have been the custom,

¹ See page 155.



Photo

DUSUN BOY

E. G. Grant

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in the rare cases when a slave married a free woman, for the woman to take the status of her husband and their children were born slaves. On the other hand, a female slave who married a free man became herself free and her children were born free.

§ 6

Food and Drink. As in every other primitive community the North Borneo pagan and his family are largely dependent on their own exertions for their daily food. They plant and harvest crops sufficient for their needs, both in food and drink, and in times of shortage range the forest in search of edible roots. To a limited extent their few luxuries are provided by the barter of surplus production, but as a general rule the pagan family is self-supporting.

Although rice is planted and eaten by all the tribes, it can scarcely be regarded as their staple diet; the more primitive groups use it rather as a supplement to their other foodstuffs—the tapioca, Indian corn, yams, sugar-cane and sweet potatoes which are planted in the rice fields, and the roots and herbs which are harvested in times of famine. During the fruit season all natives eat immoderately, often with dire results. Game, in the shape of deer and monkeys, cannot be said to form a regular article of diet, though it is acceptable. Pigs, buffaloes and even fowls are seldom eaten except on ceremonial occasions. Eggs, too, are scarcely ever eaten. The Dusuns of the upper Labuk consider them a disgusting form of food, as being the immediate product of a cock's semen.

The Tuaran Dusuns will not eat pork, but whether this self-imposed prohibition is due to their close proximity to the Mohammedan Bajaus or has some deeper significance, I have not been able to ascertain. None of the tribes drink milk, regarding it much in the same light as Dairyman Crick in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* did when he remarked: "Rot the stuff; it would lie in my innerds like lead." To the Murut or Dusun there is something definitely disgusting about such a tippie, and he considers that it will confer on the consumer the habits of the animal from which it is drawn. On the other hand, he will drink the tinned variety, bought in the Chinese shops, with alacrity. Nor is he too nice to eat a roasted rat, or to bring home a dead snake with which to supplement the family pot.

The reason why the rice diet has to be supplemented is because the first call on it, and in some villages on the tapioca crop, is for making the native liquor generically known as *tapai*.

Among the wilder groups who have not yet forgotten the hand-to-mouth existence their fathers lived, the bulk of a season's harvest is made at once into this potent brew. They eat, drink and are merry, conscious that a succession of morrows until the next reaping will mean stealthy searching in the forest for *adut* and other roots. *Adut* and its cognates are rank poison when freshly gathered and become edible only after lengthy preparation, but this fact does not worry these spendthrifts, who repeat the same uneconomic process year after year in endless succession.

Where the countryside is more settled and the effect of ordered government has had time to influence them, the tendency to take thought for the morrow becomes more marked and, though even the most highly developed of the pagan groups drink (and drink to excess) they are not so prodigal of their foodstuffs. They will often take advantage of a bumper harvest to brew considerable quantities of the liquor and lay it down like a vintage wine for use on suitable occasions. In his book *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, Mr. I. H. N. Evans points out (page 119) that *tapai* is not a spirit, since it undergoes no process of distillation. It is made by pouring water on rice with which has been mixed some fermented rice-flour. Mr. Evans's description of *tapai* manufacture at Tambatuan in the middle Tempasuk is so thorough that I cannot do better than quote it :

"Rice-flour is mixed with sugar and water and made into a small ball, which is tied up in *lalang*-grass leaves and hung up under the thatch till it has become quite hardened and mouldy. It is then pounded up and mixed with more rice-flour and water. This compound is made up into small balls, which are hung up outside the house for three or four days and are taken in at night. After they are sufficiently matured, a quantity of rice is boiled and allowed to cool, and then the balls of yeast are pounded up and mixed into it. The *tapai* rice is put into a jar, and, after a day or so, when it begins to taste sweet, water is poured in and the top of the jar tied up. After three or four days the liquor is ready to drink."

Many of the coastal groups tap the flowering shoots of their coconut trees for sap to make another liquor known as *bahr* which, bad as it is for the coconut trees, saves the rice crop. A bamboo receptacle is hung under the shoot to catch the liquor, the fermentation of which is hastened by means of a certain kind of tree-bark called *russak*. The end of the shoot is freshly

sliced daily to keep the sap flowing and the accumulated liquor is collected every evening.¹

There is considerable ceremony and etiquette attached to a native drinking bout. Among the Dusuns and the lowland Muruts, the liquor is served in china bowls or cups or—a distinctive and rather enticing custom in Tempasuk—in beakers shaped from knots of the golden bamboo with the sharp edges filed off. The aged liquor which is drunk in these villages is a clear liquid, not unlike a brown sherry in appearance. It is seductive and apparently innocuous, but, to those unaccustomed to it, it is apt to prove treacherous. It is a matter of honour for the host to see that his guests drink cup for cup with him, and it calls for a hard head to sit through an evening when conviviality of this sort is afoot. "No heel-taps," is the rule: and there is small opportunity of avoiding it.

Mr. H. W. L. Bunbury tells me that the Tambunan Dusuns draw off the stronger liquor (*ling*) from the jar in which it has been brewed and decant it into bamboo beakers (*suki*). The rice mash which remains in the jar is placed into another jar with a wider mouth, water is added and the mixture is stirred; it is then ladled out into earthenware or bamboo cups and swallowed, so that nothing is wasted. This is typical of the Tambunan Dusun, who is the most frugal of all the pagans.

Among the hill Muruts, the liquor is not poured out from the jar in which it is made, but is drunk direct from it by means of hollow reeds. In the narrow neck of the jar is set a shallow cup of leaves, pierced by two reeds which are long enough to reach to the bottom of the jar. The cup is filled with water and the host and a guest sit down beside the jar, each taking a reed. They suck the liquor up until the water in the cup has percolated through and taken the place of the liquor they have drunk.²

That is the end of the first round. The cup is refilled with water and the drinkers apply themselves once more. The neck of the jar is hung with bits of salted meat and other thirst-provoking dainties, snacks of which are picked off and eaten during the contest. The guest is expected to try to pull his reed upwards in the jar until its lower end is in the more diluted strata of liquor near the neck, where the water has percolated. The host in his turn forces the reed down and ejaculates at intervals, "Drink deep, drink hearty," while the guest rejoins,

¹ *Vide* Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

² When drinking singly, each person drinks until the measure sinks to the bottom.

"You are not drinking fair" and "How sweet it is!" The contest continues until one of the parties literally drops out.

These drinking bouts often last for days, as long, indeed, as the liquor (or the amount the host is willing to put up) will hold out. Among the pagans who take their drink from cups and bowls, the end comes suddenly and abruptly when only the lees are left, but the jar-drinker can always hopefully refill the leaf-cup and suck at his reed, heedless that constant replenishment in time reduces the once powerful brew to almost pure water and that the rice mash which formed the body of the contents is tasteless and impotent.

The effects of these bouts are as unpleasant as they must be harmful. Mercifully they are not of daily occurrence, but when they are held there are no half measures. The pagan does not consider that intoxication can be fairly imputed to him so long as he can remain on his legs. It is the standard defence to a charge of being drunk and disorderly to plead: "I was not drunk. I could still stand."

Apart from the appalling waste of valuable food material which arises from these drinking bouts, there is the disastrous effect both on the children who join in the orgies and on the adolescents of both sexes who only too often complete the saturnalia by throwing restraint and morality to the winds.¹ A Murut or Dusun village the day after a 'drunk' is a sorry spectacle and it is the more painful because the native pharmacopœia has not evolved any pick-me-up to counteract the effects.

The following is a Murut drinking-chant from the Dalit district, collected and translated by Mr. G. C. Woolley, to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce it here.² The original will be found in Appendix B. The first quatrain is the invitation by a host to a visiting chief or a party of well-known warriors, the second is the response, its diffidence being dictated by the demands of local etiquette.

I

Come, brothers,
Shame will fall on you :
Ye are slow to drink.
Follow in quick succession at the jar,

¹ As to the legal immunity, according to native law, from acts of sexual misconduct committed while in this condition, see p. 163.

² First published in the *Journal*, Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, Part II, November 1927.



Photo by courtesy of

TENGARAS WITH TAPAI JAR

B.N.B. Co.



All ye that are in the house.
 Else will ye, brave warriors,
 Earn laughter and mockery
 From us, your equals in age.
 See now, brothers,
 Thus do we drink,
 We that are men.

II

Nay, we wish not to drink deep.
 Neither are these bodies of ours
 Like those of great warriors.
 These bodies of ours—
 We are old now,
 We men.
 When we were young,
 None could point the finger of scorn at us
 In drinking.
 As for these bodies of ours,
 Truly we were great warriors in former days :
 The red fruit¹ lay scattered thick :
 Have ye not heard how it was,
 In the days of old ?
 We were as combs that smooth out the long hair :²
 And these bodies of ours,
 Impenetrable as the tangled clump of the *imbalua rattan*,³
 Stubborn rings that cannot be loosed :⁴
 These bodies of ours,
 Like the hard *sumbeling* bamboo⁵ that wounds those that touch it :
 When we were in our prime
 Even so did we slay,
 We, in the days that are past.
 All the villagers then
 Were as the pounded grains of roasted rice
 Spread out on a broad mat.

¹ *Duian*, the red jungle durian. Red fruit or red seeds symbolize heads taken, blood, etc. "When we went out on a raid, the bodies of the slain lay thick."

² We ruled the country and settled all disputes, even as a comb, *surai*, smoothes out tangled locks.

³ As the centre of a tangled clump cannot be seen, or the outer skin of the rattan conceals the inner cane, so our deeds and thought were hidden if we liked, i.e. we avenged our private quarrels and slew in secret, and none knew that it was our hand that struck the blow. Our minds were inscrutable.

⁴ We were hot-headed and obstinate ; we would not give up our desires at the bidding of others, as a ring may slip easily on to a finger but cannot be withdrawn.

⁵ *Sumbeling*, a variety of bamboo with a very hard surface, which will turn the edge off, or blunt, a weapon ; it has thorns, and the hair on its leaves causes itch.

Fire-making. Four methods of fire-making are known to the pagans, though matches are now universally used. These methods are (a) by fire-drill, (b) by fire-saw, (c) by bamboo and pottery, (d) by flint and steel. The fire-drill, as used by the North Borneo pagans, is made from one of three varieties of soft wood, a quick-growing tree called *ladang* being the commonest. The drill consists of a round stick about a foot long, tapering from a quarter to an eighth of an inch and rounded at the thicker end, and an unflawed wooden slab with a groove cut down one side for the dust to fall through.

The following description of the process is given by Mr. S. B. J. Skertchly :¹

"The operator sits on the ground and holds the firewood steady with both feet. Then taking the thin end of the drill between the palms of his outstretched hands he plants the rounded thick end a little on one side of the centre of the firewood towards the groove, applying considerable pressure.

"He then works his hands backwards and forwards, keeping up the pressure, and moving the hands steadily downwards. Arrived at the bottom the hands are slid up again and the process repeated. During the upward motion of the hands the drill is still. At first the motion is slow, about one remove per second. The friction begins to wear a hollow in the firewood, and the dust falls down the groove in a little heap.

"If the wood be in good condition, the dust, which is the tinder, begins to smoke in about twelve strokes (i.e. twelve removes of the hand upwards). The motion then becomes gradually quicker and quicker till it is very fast, and I have often seen fire got in a hundred strokes within a minute. The usual time is about two minutes, but it may be five or ten if the wood be damp, of bad quality, or the operator unskilful.

"As soon as fire is got the spark is gently blown, and the glowing tinder fed with shaved wood till a flame is obtained, glowing being continued all the time.

"The drill wears but little, and becomes hard and charred at the end. The firewood is usually bored about halfway through before fire is got. The same hole can sometimes be used twice. The holes are charred in the process."

Mr. Skertchly also describes the fire-saw, a piece of bamboo about 9 in. long and 1½ in. wide, with a notch cut in the centre

¹ *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, Vol. xix, 1890, and quoted by Ling Roth, *The Natives of North Borneo and Sarawak*, i. 376.

of the outside, with bamboo shavings for tinder. The 'horse' is a similar piece of bamboo, with one edge sharpened.

"To use it the operator sits on the ground, fixes the horse firmly in front of and sloping from him, and takes the saw in both hands curved side down, tinder uppermost, one hand at each side.



FIG. 5.—Murut Flint and Steel, with Case.

A. Flint. B. Tinder. C. Steel.

"Applying strong pressure he places the notch on the sharp edge of the horse, and steadily works the saw to and from him. In about ten strokes the tinder begins to smoke, the sawing becomes more and more rapid and finally very fast, and the tinder is aglow. Lifting the saw he blows through the hole from the curved side on to the tinder, which is soon all smouldering, and fire is got in the usual way. The usual time is under a minute. I have seen the operation completed in sixty strokes."

The method of obtaining fire by percussion from bamboo and pottery is described by Mr. Witt (Diary, March 17, 1882) and refers to the Kuijaus and (probably) the Ranau Dusuns :

"No tedious drilling; a fragment of hard pottery, or a mineral with a rough surface is struck on a reed, or old bamboo cane. The tinder principally consists of the epidermis of an orbiscent grass with amplexicaul lanceolate leaves. The cab-bages of this plant, called *Badok*, are, by the way, the best of all food resources in a jungle of not strictly primary growth. Our Dusuns prepare that scraped-off epidermis by washing and mixing it with wood ashes, and the roasted pericarps of the Durian fruit, and that mixture is held for an instant, in a pan over fire. The result is a most sensitive tinder. If no Durian be available, there are substitutes for it."

Mrs. Cator mentions all these methods being practised by the Tengaras;¹ her description of the fire-drill and fire-saw appears to have been taken from Mr. Skertchly.

How far these methods are still used I am unable to state, but I think it is safe to say that when matches are not available the most usual means of obtaining fire at the present time, both among the Muruts and Dusuns, is by the flint and steel, the tinder being similar to that described by Witt. The implements and tinder are kept in neatly made bamboo or wooden boxes, sometimes ornamented with fibre lashings.

§ 7

The Day's Round. The every-day life of the modern pagan lacks the excitement which attended his existence in earlier days. Before he lived in his present security (which, even in the remoter villages, has prolonged his expectation of life to a degree undreamt of by his forbears) every dawn must have been welcomed as the close of an anxious twelve hours of darkness. In those days, at any moment he might hear the shrill war-cry of an attacking force, the crash of steel against the lashings of his tree-bark door, and the ripple of fire as it crept over the palm-thatch of his roof. The dawn heralded a day during which, fully armed and cautiously watching for an ambushed foe, he would carry out his work in the fields or stand sentry over his womenfolk as they weeded the steep hill-sides where the rice was growing, or performed their chores in the house. The old Adam dies hard and there is still some danger in the distant hills, but for the most part the pagan may sleep secure at the present time and follow his daily round unhampered by weapons and undismayed by foes.

¹ *Everyday Life Among the Headhunters*, p. 117.

Even in a country which is close to the equator the nights are chilly in the hills, and the pagan wisely allows the early rays of the sun to scatter the mists and warm the air before he goes abroad. When the community begins to stir, it is the women who are first about, coaxing to life the embers of each little hearth. By this time the pigs in their pens beneath the house, the fowls cooped in baskets under the floor, or perched among the rafters, and the mangy mongrels which shiver in every corner of the house, have begun, each in their own fashion, to welcome the new day.

Then the bark doors of the cubicles creak on their hinges and the housewives, with tousled heads, their bodies tightly swathed in the long blue cloths which serve them as nightdresses, eiderdowns and dressing-gowns, grope their way through the still gloomy house. Picking up the long bamboos, they clamber down the notched log that serves the house for steps, and fetch water from the river or the trickling spring that has been led, in raised bamboo gutters, within convenient proximity to the village. As they go they open the pens and let out the pigs, release the fowls, and untie any buffaloes or cattle that have been fettered to the posts of the house.

By the time they return the male members of the household have made a tardy appearance and are puffing at the fag ends of palm-leaf cigarettes which have been left over from the night before and tucked into any convenient cranny in the cubicle walls. Huddled in their sarongs, they cower over the fires for a few minutes, and then, morose and silent, make their way to the common-room, or descend to the earthen forecourt of the house. The women resume possession of the hearths and begin their preparations for the first meal of the day, which, however, may consist of nothing more appetising than cold rice from the night before.

Once this has been despatched, the business of the day begins, and both men and women set out on their varied duties. The women sling across their shoulders the great *basong*, the graceful carrying baskets which serve an infinity of purposes. Each bearer of one has her allotted task. One is due to return with a load of firewood, another carries empty bamboo water-holders. One party, laughing and chattering, is bound for the fields. Some will bring back loads of food according to the season—rice in the husk, Indian corn, potatoes, or yams—while others will spend the day weeding the crops or scaring off the birds and vermin that prey upon them.

The men of the village also disperse to their avocations.

If it is the planting season, a band of them will set off to the fields armed with their adzes and cutting-knives ; others may go down to the fish traps in the river below. If the fields have been planted, they have leisure for going further afield, and you may see a party packing the light woven baskets which serve them as hold-alls when they travel. A sarong provides a covering for the night, some dried fish, a parcel of cold rice packed neatly in a fresh banana leaf, some spare tobacco, and perhaps a box of matches are swiftly stowed away. Into the folds of his loincloth each pushes the small brass box which contains his chew of areca-nut and all its condiments. The long bamboo pipe and the cutting-knife are girt on either side, and then, sun-hat on head and spear in hand, they are ready for the road. Their object may be rattan or other jungle produce, it may be a hunt after deer or pig, or it may be a trip to some shopping centre, where they will haggle with the Chinese over the bartering of their produce for such shoddy trade goods as take their fancy.

Unless the chance visitor happens upon a pagan village at a time of festival, he will find during the daytime only the withered crones and patriarchs, with a few of the younger generation who are not yet old enough to take their share in the daily tasks. But as evening draws in, if he sits on the ridge which forms the village site, and gazes down into the valley below, where the black and silver stream comes tumbling over its boulders, he will see parties of men and women appear from the wall of jungle or from the tangled grass and undergrowth which marks the cultivated area of the previous year. Slowly, wearily they climb the steep path, trodden smooth and slippery, until they clamber up the log stairway and with sighs of weary relief slacken the loops of their baskets and slip them from their shoulders. The chant of the swineherdess rings out—*kek, kek, kek, KKK !* The pigs come running at the call and are once more folded beneath the house. Fowls are cooped in their baskets. The outer door of the long house is shut. The day's work is over. Few would dare to say that it was not a full one.

For the women, indeed, it is not over yet. They busy themselves with preparing the evening meal—the principal meal of the day. Each family dines in its separate cubicle, only strangers eating in the common-room. The glimmer of the fire and an occasional torch is the only light. The rice is doled out from the clay or iron cooking-pots with bamboo spoons and placed on the plantain leaves which serve as plates and are thrown away after each meal. Lumps of salt fish are



Photo

MURUTS WITH BAMBOO WATER-CONTAINERS

N. G. HARRISON

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added to each portion of rice. Boiled fish or vegetables, such as fern tops, cucumbers, and bamboo shoots, are put in a common bowl or on another leaf. *Busau*, a kind of paste made from decomposed fish, serves as mustard; pickled tamarind as a relish. Yams, Indian corn and sweet potatoes may take the place of rice in times of shortage.

Each member of the family party eats with his hands (without washing either before or after the meal) cramming the food into his mouth, wolfing it down, belching at intervals and stretching for tit-bits into the common bowl. After a cigarette, a chew of betel-nut and a talk, the men take to some evening occupation—carving knife handles or repairing fishing-nets—while the women busy themselves with weaving or basket work. Or there may be a dance and a ‘sing-song’ on the springing dancing-floor. The dancing-floor is also used for jumping competitions. From the roof is hung a mark, under which the competitors stand. The onlookers vibrate the floor and at the right moment the competitor has to spring and try to reach the mark, which is gradually pulled higher. The competitor who succeeds in reaching the highest wins, and this mark remains until someone beats it. Mr. F. W. Fraser mentions having seen some keen inter-village jumping in the Dalit country. It is by no means easy and the novice usually cuts a poor figure.

The evening’s tasks or amusements being over, the families settle down in their cubicles to sleep, while the unattached men retire to the common-room. There is a fire always burning on that hearth and there is always someone awake to replenish it, for the pagans sleep not only lightly but by fits and turns. At almost any hour in the night the visitor may wake up, look through his mosquito curtain and see the glow of cigarettes beside the hearth, hear the subdued gossiping of the old men, made wakeful by coughs or the irritation of skin disease, as they pass the time until another day shall dawn, or drop off to sleep again, their black sarongs tucked round them, as near the glowing embers as they dare to lie.

CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURE

§ 1

THERE are no purely nomadic or pastoral tribes in North Borneo, and all the pagans cultivate the soil in one way or another. No special class is employed in this work, the whole body of the people, both men and women, being engaged.

Rice is the staple crop of the pagans, who, unlike the Nagas and the hill folk of Formosa, plant no millet. In this rice cultivation the influence of geographical conditions on the pagan culture is again plainly shown, and the pagans may be divided into two distinct agricultural groups: those who plant hill, or dry rice, which is usually grown in the hills, and those who plant wet rice, which can be grown only on flat land and demands far more preparation of the soil.

The first group includes all the Muruts, except those on the Keningau Plain and the Temoguns of the Padas Valley as far as Beaufort, and all the inland Dusuns. The second group, the growers of wet rice, includes the Keningau, Tambunan, and Ranau groups and all the Dusuns who occupy the coastal plains. That is to say the hill people confine themselves to dry rice, while the plain-dwellers have taken advantage of the terrain they inhabit to plant wet rice, and, in consequence, have attained a far higher stage of farming and a corresponding degree of prosperity. The industrious Tambunan folk plant both dry and wet rice. When the hilly ground has been planted, they devote themselves to the wet planting, taking the harvest off the hill first and then harvesting on the plain.

§ 2

Hill Rice. The hill natives are neither skilled nor prudent farmers, though they have to toil for their crop, since each year they consider it necessary to clear fresh forest, and rarely plant a clearing twice, never in two successive years. Some time after the harvest has been gathered in, a new block of land is



Photo

TERRACED RICE FIELDS IN THE TAMBUNAN DISTRICT

F. G. Grant



Photo

THRESHING RICE, PAPAR

Dorothy Rutter



selected, preferably with a stand of virgin jungle on it, within easy reach of the village. Since there are no definitely marked seasons in North Borneo, the pagans have learnt to use the stars as their guide, and when they observe the constellation known as *belattek* (? the Hyades), low in the East (this will be in June), they know that the time for clearing the jungle is at hand. The whole of the timber on the selected area is then felled, with the exception of any fruit trees and trees on which wild bees are accustomed to settle. If no such trees are found, it is usual to leave standing a few with a good spread of branch as a propitiation to the birds. Any camphor or wild rubber trees found in the area would be felled and the camphor and rubber extracted from them.

Among the Muruts there is generally one large field for the whole village and the clearing is done by the community as a whole. In districts such as Marudu, where the communities are smaller and less isolated, villages will give each other mutual assistance in clearing, planting and harvesting. Among the Rungus small separate family clearings are made, and then the work is carried out by members of the family without other assistance.

The actual felling of the trees is done by the men, the women and boys helping to clear away the undergrowth. It is difficult to fell the largest trees at the base, since many of them throw out great buttresses, so the pagan woodcutter erects a platform a few feet from the ground in order to perform the work with greater ease. The only implement used is the crude but serviceable adze already described.

Once the jungle has been felled and roughly stacked it is allowed to lie for a few weeks and then, after a dry period, it is burnt off. Continued wet weather may mean disaster, but a successful burn will leave the ground almost clear of debris and black with ash; logs that are only half burnt through are allowed to lie where they have fallen, and it is not considered necessary to re-stack and burn again. It is customary to warn neighbouring villages of the intention to burn off a felled area, and if the fire spreads and does damage to land of another village a penalty may be claimed. Among the Kolurs and Tagals this penalty is a jar and a pig.

The wastage of valuable timber that results from this indiscriminate felling of virgin forest is obvious. Thousands upon thousands of acres have been laid waste in this manner, for when the available land in the neighbourhood of a village has been used once for planting (that is, in about five years)

the village is moved and the process begins again. For some time past the Government, alarmed at the deforestation of the hill country, has been taking measures to confine the pagans to specified areas for planting purposes and it is probable that in time, with careful handling, they will learn to practise less wasteful methods, although, since they have no idea of putting back into the soil what they take from it, land under scrub or secondary jungle can never give them such good results as the virgin land, enriched by the ashes from the burn.

Beyond the clearing of the ground there is no preparation of the soil—no ploughing, even of the rudest description. But the pagans realize the importance of preventing the rich top soil from being washed down the hill-sides by the rain. To some extent the buttresses of the trunks that are left standing serve this purpose, and to aid the retention of the soil half-burnt logs may be laid horizontally along the steeper slopes. To exclude wild pig and deer a rough fence may be constructed round the clearing. If there is a right of way across the field it may be closed, but gates must be made to give access to the path ; or an alternative path made.

Here, as a rule, the communal work ends. Each family now marks out, by means of sticks laid flat upon the ground, the portion it wishes to cultivate, the division of the land being made by mutual arrangement.

In September the *belattek* is seen overhead. Then sowing must begin. The women perform this work by the simple process of poking holes in the earth with a pointed stick at intervals of a foot to eighteen inches. A few seeds, which have been carefully preserved from the previous harvest, are dropped into each hole, which is then lightly covered with earth and ashes. After this the crop is left to itself, though a few weeks later the women may pull up weeds to prevent their choking the young shoots.

When the rice begins to come into ear it needs careful watching to save it from the depredations of birds and mice. By this time small huts have been erected in the clearing, where those entrusted with this work will spend most of their time. Since the plain-dwellers take even more precautions to protect their crops than the hill people, a description of the bird scarers and of the methods of mice-catching may conveniently be left until the following section.

Harvesting begins in March or April, by which time the *belattek* is low in the western sky. By May it will have sunk beneath the horizon, and by then the harvest must be gathered



Man Shig

DUSUN WOMEN HUSKING AND WINNOWING RICE

Photo

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in. Reaping is the women's task. The crop does not ripen all together, as a field of corn does in England, so that no sickle is used, as this would mean cutting down both the ripe and the unripe grain. Instead, the women go through the field every day with a curved knife, cutting off the ripe heads with a few inches of straw and placing them in a basket, until the whole field is cut. The bulk of the straw is left standing in the field and is not used for any domestic purpose.

The rice is placed on a mat and trampled from the ear, and is then stored in one of the great round granaries, made of long lengths of tree-bark, in the village house, where it remains until required for trading, for the preparation of rice-beer (*tapai*), or for consumption as food. The gathering of the harvest is the signal for a great drinking feast, in which both men and women take part and often remain drunk for days.

The rice is usually winnowed daily, or as supplies are needed. This work is also performed by the women, particularly the young girls. A small amount of unhusked rice (*padi*) is poured into a mortar that has been hollowed out in a block of wood some three feet long. A girl, taking one of the long wooden pestles, begins to pound it steadily, holding the pole in the centre with one hand, the other resting lightly on her hip. Soon another joins her, and another, each giving her stroke in perfect time, much as you may see three workmen hammering in a wedge in a London street, and the rhythmic thudding of the pestles is a characteristic sound in every village.

The contents of the mortar are then placed in a round or oblong tray, made of plaited palm leaf and about three feet in diameter with raised edges bound with rattan. Squatting down, one of the women takes the tray in both hands, throws grain and chaff into the air with a quick, deft movement, so that the chaff falls on to the ground and the husked grain falls back on to the tray. The rice is then ready for cooking or any other purpose. When cooked it has a curious reddish tinge, quite unlike the white rice that has been grown in standing water.

§ 3

Wet Rice. The cultivation of wet rice is the highest form of native agriculture found in North Borneo. It is quite possible, as I have already suggested, that the Dusuns learnt their present methods from the Chinese, since the methods are identical with those practised in Southern China and on the plains of Formosa; on the other hand, as a writer in the *British*

*North Borneo Herald*¹ has pointed out, there are grounds for believing that terraced irrigation in this part of the world is one of the relics of a great migration of some stone-using race—possibly originating from a group of islands in the Indian Ocean—which can be traced throughout all the southern islands of the Archipelago, on through the southern Philippines and even as far north as Formosa.²

On the plains almost every acre of available flat land in the neighbourhood of the pagan villages is under wet rice cultivation, and is split up into small fields, from half an acre to three acres in extent. These fields are owned and worked individually and are planted every year. Each owner now has a Government title for his land and pays an annual quit rent of 1s. 2d. an acre. If he wishes to sell his land to a compatriot, the transfer must be registered in the District Land Office, but to save the natives from exploitation the Government has ordained that no foreigner may acquire a title to native land without Government sanction. The present-day native's sound knowledge of the value of his land makes it unlikely that he will get the worst of such a transaction. So long as he is getting a fair deal, sanction for the sale is usually given, but the procedure is for the native title to be surrendered to Government, which then issues a provisional lease to the new owner—European, Indian or Chinese—at an enhanced rental, the native owner having, of course, received the purchase price.

All the wet rice land is now held under native title and the people themselves fully realize the protection given to their ownership by these grants. When the settlement work was in progress some years ago, as soon as the titles were prepared from the field surveys they were usually taken up with alacrity by the owners of the land, although this meant the payment of a registration fee and an annual quit rent. Some difficulty was experienced at Keningau, but this was overcome by tact on the part of the officers concerned.

Except that buffaloes are allowed to graze on the fields when the harvest has been gathered in and that the stubble is allowed to remain in the fields and rot, there is no system of manuring, but an acre of wet rice land will normally yield 25 to 50 per cent more grain than an acre under hill rice.³

Like the hill folk, the coastal pagans plant by the stars.

¹ May 1, 1923.

² Vide W. J. Perry, *Megalithic Culture in Indonesia*.

³ The average yield of an acre of wet rice is 300—400 *gantang*, of hill rice from 250—300 *gantang*. (8 *gantang*=1 bushel, 64 *gantang*=1 quarter.)



Photo

Douglas K. Kiser

PREPARING A WET RICE FIELD

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When, in August or September, the Pleiades are seen to have risen, or, in Tambunan, the constellation of Orion, nurseries are prepared and carefully fenced. The planting of the nurseries is done by the women, and at the same time the men begin to prepare the fields. First the mud banks which surround each field are repaired where they have crumbled or been damaged by buffaloes. Sometimes they are wattled with bamboo. When completed they are about a foot high, and broad enough at the top to allow a man to walk along.

In some districts the rain alone is depended on to soften the hard ground, but in Putatan, Tambunan and Keningau careful irrigation works may be seen. Fields that are far from a stream are flooded by means of a system of dykes and sluices ; in other places water may be led from an upper level to the fields by means of a long line of split bamboos supported on sticks.

It is customary for the whole community to assist in the annual construction of the dams ; any member defaulting after having been warned would be liable to a fine. It is also an offence to close irrigation ditches or to flood a neighbour's field.

The mud banks retain the water in the fields, and as soon as the earth has been softened to mud, ploughing begins. The Dusun plough is made of wood, the share being shod with iron. On hard ground it would make little impression, but being light it is well adapted for churning up the soft muddy surface of the *sawah*. To draw the plough the Dusun employs his water-buffalo, which is harnessed by ropes from a wooden yoke and controlled by a rope from the nose-ring or the horns.

Once the mud has been well stirred the Dusun goes over the field with the *sisir*, a wooden framework with a number of spokes made from the trunk of the hard *nibong* palm, in order to break up any lumps of earth left over by the plough. The field is then levelled off with the *ragus*, a kind of harrow, on which the driver stands as the buffalo drags it round the field. When these preparations, which take from a week to ten days, are complete, the water will lie in an unbroken sheet on the field, completely covering the ground.

The planting out of the young shoots, when about six inches high, is done by the women, two or three plants being set at intervals of eighteen inches in lines about two feet apart. The plants are then left to themselves, though the field is generally weeded once before harvest. By the time the ear is well formed the water will be drained off the fields, or, where there is no irrigation, will have dried off of its own accord.

Precautions are taken to protect the ripening crop from the depredations of small birds which, unless kept in check, will do it much damage. Huts are built in the fields, and an elaborate system of rattan strings is suspended over the growing rice and attached to poles; leaves, plaited palm fronds and carved models of hawks are attached to these strings whose ends meet in the hut, so that the whole 'scarer' may easily be kept in movement by a woman or child. Long strips of bamboo are pivoted like the propellers of an aeroplane and allowed to whirl noisily in the breeze. Recourse may also be had to yelling and banging empty kerosine oil tins, as everyone who has lived near fields of ripening rice has good cause to remember.

To cope with the ravages of animals, advantage is taken of the natural tendency to seek the line of least resistance and openings are left in fences for deer and pig, while run-ways are made with poles for the approach of monkeys and squirrels from the surrounding jungle, the way being closed for the unsuspecting marauder by a trap or a *cheval de frise* of sharpened bamboo.

The following is an ingenious method of scaring practised by the Dusuns of Kiau. From a mountain rivulet an aqueduct of bamboos split in half was led to the field where protection was required. The trickle of water was run into a bamboo

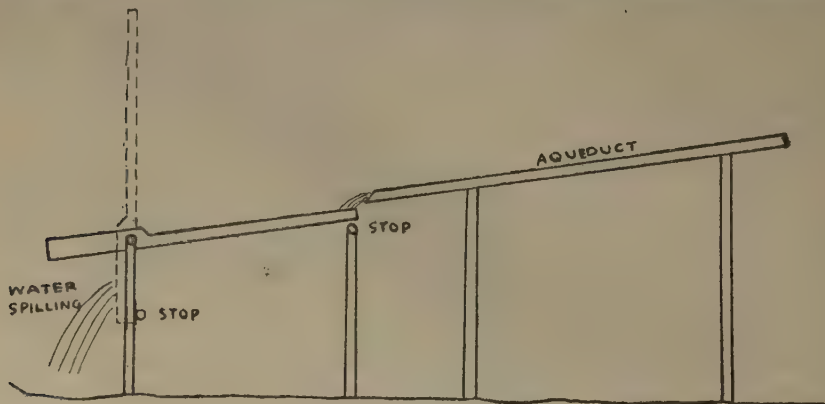


FIG. 6.—Dusun water-scarer.

container, pivoted at a point which, when the bamboo was empty, allowed it to lie poised as a continuation of the aqueduct. As the bottom portion of the container filled, its weight upset the equilibrium and the container swung on its axis and emptied the water. As it swung, it hit with a loud crack against a stop and, on falling back to its position at the end of the aqueduct, a



Photo

PLANTING OUT RICE SHOOTS FROM THE NURSERY

Man Sing



second sound was produced. The effect of this double alarm with the intervening periods of silence was most effective and, in the deserted condition of the field, almost uncanny.

Locusts will settle on a field of growing rice and eat it bare in a night, and mice may also commit serious damage. The Dusuns, especially the Tambunan group, are expert mouse-catchers, and a long line of them will go through the fields with bamboo flares at night, catching the rodents in their hands with extraordinary dexterity, or killing them with sticks as they try to escape.

The method of harvesting wet rice is similar to that of the hill pagans. Women and children cut the crop by hand and it is threshed by trampling the grain from the ear. The rice is then put into sacks and carried to the family granary (usually a small hut separate from the dwelling-house), on a bamboo sledge, which, when dragged along the uneven ground by a water-buffalo, forms an effective substitute for a cart.¹

§ 4

Gardens. Rice is the staple food of the plain-dwelling pagans, but in the hills so much is used for the manufacture of *tapai* that the rice diet is eked out with tapioca, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and yams (*caladium esculentum*). The Indian corn is planted amongst the rice and since the crop ripens in three months from the sowing, it can be taken off the ground before the rice harvest. Pumpkins, melons and cucumbers are also grown among the rice, while tapioca, yams, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane and bananas are cultivated in separate gardens, carefully fenced, near the village house.

On the plains these small gardens are found near or adjoining every house; although they give abundant produce, usually they are untidy and uncared for, a lamentable contrast to the well-cultivated market gardens of the pagans' Chinese neighbours. It is typical of the pagans that although they take little trouble to grow fresh vegetables themselves, they buy eagerly the produce of the Chinese gardens.

The Kiau Dusuns cultivate a type of thick-skinned green orange, which is very popular on the coast, but beyond this and a few banana trees in their compounds the pagans can hardly be said to grow fruit. The *pinang* palm is grown, but not plentifully, although its fruit is always in demand for chewing purposes

¹ A description of the ceremonies connected with rice-planting will be found on pp. 244 *et seq.*

as betel-nut, in conjunction with the leaves of the *sireh* vine, which is cultivated by the Dusuns.

Coconut trees are found in all the plain and upland villages, but little or no deliberate planting is done and the palms' growth is due rather to the fortuitous manure they receive than to any deliberate cultivation on the part of the owners. The natives collect the nuts by climbing the trees (without any extraneous aid but shallow footholes that have been cut in the trunk of the palm) and sell them at the local markets. They do not attempt to manufacture copra from the white meat of the mature nut, although this is a simple process and there is always a ready market in the Chinese shops.

Larger fruit trees, such as the mango, the durian, the *tarap* (a kind of bread fruit, *Artocarpus* spp.), *langsats* (*Lansium*, a fruit with an acid pulp round a central seed), and *rambutan* (*Nephelium* spp., a kind of lychee), and others are found all over the country. Their fruit is prized by the pagans and every tree, even if it grows in the jungle, appears to have a definite owner : but here again the growth of these trees is fortuitous ; the agency which planted them was probably that of birds, and, beyond collecting the fruit, the owner pays no attention to them, although he is quick enough to assert his claim and to demand compensation should his trees come within a concession of land allotted to a rubber estate.

A certain amount of pepper is still grown in the Bundu district, which was once famous for its pepper gardens, and almost certainly the Bundu Dusuns learnt the cultivation from the Chinese. Pepper is a climbing shrub and is grown from cuttings, climbing up posts planted seven or eight feet apart. The first yield can be taken off in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years ; after which the crop is picked annually.

Patches of cotton are grown in the Kuijau and Tambunan districts, but owing to the ease with which cotton thread and cotton materials can be bought from the Chinese, the cultivation of native cotton is fast dying out. The pods of the cotton tree (*kapok*), which grows well on the plains, are valued by the Dusuns, and they use the silky floss for stuffing mattresses and pillows.

§ 5

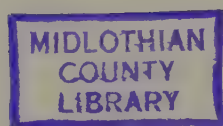
Tobacco. There is only one form of agriculture besides the cultivation of wet rice to which any of the pagans pay serious attention. This is tobacco, which is grown by the Kuijaus and the Kiau, Tambunan and Ranau Dusuns. So far as I am aware, the



Photo

INLAND DUSUN WOMEN CARRYING LOADS OF TOBACCO

Man Sing



plant is not indigenous to Borneo, but how it came to be introduced to the island is not known, for it was grown by the pagans long before the settlement of Europeans.

The most highly prized leaf comes from Ranau, Tambunan and Keningau ; native experts say that the sea wind affects the plants on the Kiau hills. But in all districts the methods of planting and of manufacture are similar. The same land may be used for a tobacco field for two or three years in succession, often on fields which have been used for growing rice, but virgin soil is preferred. Two crops a year can be taken off the steep slopes. No ploughing or manuring takes place. The chief enemies of the plant are green caterpillars, which are kept down by the women and children. Unlike the European planters, who consider the bottom leaves to be the choicest, the native considers the middle and top leaves to be the best. The crop is picked by both men and women, and the leaves are pressed together and piled in heaps and covered with banana fronds until they turn brown. They are then chopped up into fine pieces or cut into fine strips by a sharp bamboo drawn across a board, and laid out in trays to be dried in the sun, being stored at night in a little shed. When ready the leaf is packed in small bundles which are carried down to the coast, to be sold in the markets or the Chinese shops. The leaf is not fermented and lacks fragrance. The flavour is rather strong and consequently the tobacco is more acceptable to the Asiatic than to the European palate. The Muruts also plant tobacco for their own consumption, but smoke the leaf green ; it may be that the dried grass with which they fill the stem of their long bamboo pipes lessens the pungency. In 1922 the Government imported a machine for making cigarettes from native tobacco, but the experiment does not appear to have been a success.

§ 6

Sago. Just as tobacco cultivation is confined to certain districts, so is sago which, although it cannot be said to be cultivated, is worked by the Dusuns of Beaufort, Bundu and Membakut, the chief producing areas of the palm being the swampy land in the Klias Peninsula and the adjoining districts.

Two varieties of the tree are recognized by the natives, one thickly protected with stiff spines or thorns, and the other smooth of skin. The palm reproduces itself by means of surface roots that radiate from the parent tree, which, with its offspring, forms a clump of palm (*rumpun*) that normally contains sago in

every stage of development, from the new-born sucker to the mature trunk whence comes the sago of commerce. If the palm is allowed to flower it becomes useless as a producer of starch, so that it must be felled and used before that stage is reached. Neglect to do this is, in ordinary times, one of the commonest offences against sago, but in times of high prices and food shortage precautions have had to be taken against the cutting of trees which, though ripe, were not fully mature. The palm is also valued for its fronds, which are used for making the better type of roofing materials (*atap*), while the rib of the leaf is used in the manufacture of native baskets and for other miscellaneous purposes.

As with fruit trees, every sago clump has its recognized owner, who may sell the standing trunk. This sale includes only the trunk specified and gives no right over future products of the same clump.

When felled, the sago trunk is cut into lengths of about six feet, which are dragged out of the swamp by a native bamboo sledge or floated along one of the waterways which traverse the sago districts. The log is stripped of its bark and the inside is broken down by a home-made rasp and then soaked in water and trodden through a closely-woven mat suspended over a trough, leaving the pith and vegetable waste to be thrown away. The starch settles in the trough and is collected, roughly dried and packed in mat baskets of sago leaves. It is now in the state of "unrefined raw sago" (*lutau*) and as such may be sold, either direct to a native consumer, who, after further cleaning, cooks it and eats it, or it may go to the local factory, a primitive establishment in Chinese or Indian hands, for conversion into "refined raw sago," "sago flour," or, more rarely, "pearl sago." The price obtained varies in accordance with the amount of impurity contained in the *lutau*.¹

In recent years the sago in the State has been gradually, but continually decreasing. This is partly due to damage caused by buffaloes, wild pigs and fire, but even more to the apathy of the Dusuns themselves. Their attitude is that sago has always been there. Their ancestors never looked after it, therefore why should they worry to fence and clean and cut down ripe trees, or plant fresh ones? Indeed, the modern native of these districts takes far less care of his trees than his father did before him. He has become sophisticated and, moreover, his sago clump is no longer his livelihood, or even his reserve fund. In

¹ See "Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Sago Industry of the State of North Borneo," 1920.



Photo

G. C. Woolley

A CLUMP OF SAGO TREES

The best roofing-material (*alap*) is made from these fronds.

times of stress, he can always get work on an estate. Why, then, should he trouble to look after sago which, when it matures, may be almost unmarketable, as experience has shown him, owing to a drop in prices?

§ 7

Domestic Animals. The pagans show as little foresight in the breeding and care of their domestic animals as in the raising of their crops. Pigs are found in every pagan village, whether on the plains or in the hills. The domestic pig of Borneo is thin, very long in the snout, and almost invariably black. The Dusun word *waguk*, denoting 'pig,' is obviously onomatopœic. In the Murut country the styes are under the house, but the pigs are let out in the daytime and are allowed to root about for themselves. They act as general scavengers of the village and are revolting feeders. In the more ordered villages of the Dusuns they are fed twice a day with a porridge made from scraps and potato peelings. When this is cooked and ready the swineherdess rouses the echoes with her shrill call, which is a characteristic of every Dusun village.

Goats are kept by the Dusuns and rich men own ponies and cattle, but among the Dusuns the water-buffalo is by far the most important of the domestic animals. The water-buffalo is rarely found in the hilly Murut districts, the pony never, unless owned by a European or Chinese. In fact when the bridle path was first put through to Rundum Station and the District Officer brought ponies down, the animals struck terror into the hearts of the local natives.

The Dusun uses his water-buffalo for a variety of purposes. It draws the plough and the harrow with which he prepares his rice-field. Harnessed to a bamboo sledge it will serve as a cart-horse. With a wooden saddle, or without any saddle at all, it may be ridden over any country, no matter how broken or swampy, the rider controlling it by holding a rope from the nose-ring in one hand and, as often as not, grasping the beast's tail in the other. The buffalo is at the same time a form of investment, an article of barter, and almost legal tender. It forms an important part of every bride-price (*brian*) and it is the subject of many lawsuits, for it is seldom, if ever, stalled, but is allowed to roam until its owner needs it and it becomes a pressing temptation to thievish hands. To the European every buffalo looks very much alike, but a native owner claims to (and generally can) identify his own beast without difficulty either by the whorls (*ibul ibul*) or by snicks in the ears, or other private marks.

In the neighbourhood of Government stations owners take advantage of the branding regulations that have been introduced.

Like pigs, buffaloes are seldom killed by the pagans except for ceremonial purposes, though they may be sold for slaughter. Neither their milk, nor the milk of cows or goats, is used by the pagans, who, as I have mentioned, look upon it with disgust. The Dusuns take considerable pride in their buffaloes, treat them well and give them names, just as we name our horses. Yet no castrating is done and it is almost impossible to convince them of the value of systematic breeding from selected sires.

The pagans are not wantonly cruel to any animals and in every village a few pets will be found. Dogs are kept both on the plains and in the hills and are especially valued for hunting. Usually they are yellowish curs, with prick ears and protruding ribs. They are allowed the run of the house, and acquire a wonderful agility in clambering up and down the ladders or notched logs that serve for steps. In the long houses of the hill villages, a hole, cut in the base of the door for their convenience, allows them to come and go at night as they list.

Cats are less common than dogs, but monkeys are often kept as pets, also birds, particularly the mina, which quickly learns to talk, and a small green parakeet for which little round rattan cages are made.

Fowls are kept in every village. They pick up a living for themselves, but every evening they are stowed away in baskets which are hung up under the house. They are rarely used as articles of food, but are killed on feast days and for sacrificial purposes. A problem I have never been able to solve satisfactorily is what becomes of the eggs laid by Murut and Dusun fowls, for, as I have mentioned, they are seldom eaten, and they are as seldom sold or bartered. The explanation may be that the birds are very inbred and lay only enough eggs to maintain a supply of fowls.

Some of the up-country people, particularly the Kiau and Ranau Dusuns, keep bees, a small brown variety, but rather for the wax, which fetches a good price from the Chinese, than for the honey, although this is not unpalatable. The Dusuns do not understand how to hive a swarm of bees, but outside their houses they hang up a hollowed log, or a cylinder of tree-bark, about two feet long closed at one end, with a small hole in the side as an entrance, smear some honey about the hole, and leave the swarm to take possession of its own accord. Burbidge mentions¹ that at Kiau in "several instances the hives were on

¹ *The Gardens of the Sun*, p. 266.



Photograph by courtesy of

B.N.B. Co.

DUSUN WOMEN POUNDING SAGO



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the shelves inside the houses, a hole being made through the 'ataps' corresponding with the hole in the hive, so as to allow of egress and ingress, a plan similar to that adopted by the bee-keeping natives of Kashmir."

When I was a District Officer at Tuaran I persuaded the Government to let me have some modern English hives, complete with the wooden sections for the comb, hoping to improve apiculture in the district, but without success. Everyone was very polite about them, but I could see they were regarded as new-fangled things and, since no one could hive a swarm, they remained untenanted.

§ 8

The Improvement of Native Agriculture. This important matter is in the hands of Mr. D. D. Wood, the Director of Agriculture, and his staff of Philipinos. Given a free hand (which he has) and sufficient money (which at present he has not), Mr. Wood has all the knowledge and experience to carry out a revolution in planting native lands. The Agricultural Department set out to produce 800 *gantang* (gallons) per acre (as against the average 300-400) and actually did so in Keningau, while 600 was touched at Papar. But it will take a long time to spread these methods among the pagans, particularly as they entail two ploughings. At present the pagan completely lacks incentive to improve upon the methods of his fathers. The incentive must, therefore, be created, but it is difficult to see how this is to be done, except so gradually as to be almost a matter of evolution. The estates are attracting natives from even the remoter villages of the interior in increasing numbers, until the fields are being left to the women. It is no mean task to eradicate the "What's the use?" attitude, for the average pagan does not want to be rich and, of course, does not realize that in an increased interest in life lies the preservation of his race, now that so much that once gave him interest has disappeared—headhunting on the one hand and on the other the provision of simple necessities he can now buy from the Chinese. But the Government's settlement of native lands has been a success and it may be that eventually the Chinese, by purchase and by inter-marriage, will gradually eat into the purely native areas and improve production. This transition is already evident where the railway and new roads are giving access to the Chinese.

CHAPTER VI

JUNGLE AND RIVER CRAFT

§ 1

THE life of the pagan in North Borneo is devoid of the strains and stresses which civilization has imposed on the rest of the world. It has its problems, but they are problems of a different kind. The pagan's problem is Nature, at times his friend and ally, at others his most unrelenting and dangerous foe. The skill he shows in deciding which aspect she bears at a given moment settles for him the great issues of life and death, and the way he works out this ever-changing problem makes him the interesting study that he is.

To the pagans the river and the jungle represent the world. From them they derive their food, their clothing, their house material. They traverse them daily on their lawful and unlawful occasions. They are familiar with their secrets and, from long and often bitter experience, they have come to learn their caprices and the best method of combating them.

When a man's existence from hour to hour depends on the acuteness of his vision, the swiftness of his powers of perception and the skill with which he overcomes each successive difficulty, it is natural that he should acquire a store of jungle and river craft which becomes almost reflex in its application. To the hunter, every noise in the jungle tells a story. The bent twig or the smear of mud show him, almost without a mental effort on his own part, what has passed that way, and when and whither. The jungle trees, the creepers, the bushes have each their additional uses.

It is an education to watch a party of pagans, as the day draws in, preparing a camp out of the material which Nature has provided. A more or less level spot is chosen near one of the small streams which drain the hills and lead into the bigger mountain torrents. A few strokes from the working *parang* which hangs at each man's waist, and there is a clearing to hold the lean-to hut, built mainly of the débris left from the clearing of the site. A search round in the jungle will usually provide



Dorothy Kutter

THE LANGKON RIVER, MARUDU BAY

Photo



a vegetable relish to add to the rice which the travellers have brought with them. Simple traps may secure a squirrel, a rat, or even a roe-deer. A joint of the larger species of bamboo serves as a cooking-pot and the leaves of the wild banana furnish plates for the meal. If time allows, a reach in the bubbling stream may be dammed up, and rough fish traps hurriedly plaited from strips of bamboo.

Hunting. It is no less instructive to accompany a tracker after big game. Whether the quarry be elephant or rhinoceros in the big jungle, or sambur or pig in the more open country of the West Coast, a good tracker will build up his story as he follows the trail. To him the indications read like a printed page, although to the uninitiated nothing may be apparent.

Hunting is an occasional pursuit rather than a regular occupation. Women take no part in it. In each hill district the uncultivated land is divided up among the various villages, each one keeping to its own area. Such rights are jealously guarded and seldom infringed.

Hunting parties are organized on the same lines as raiding parties, and the same weapons are used in the chase as for war: the spear, the *parang* and the blowpipe. Dogs are used both for tracking and for baying up deer and pig until the hunters can come up to claim the quarry. The Murut and Dusun dogs are bold only when in packs, but well-trained hunting dogs are valuable assets and are so sought after that they would be accepted as part of the blood-money to be paid on settlement of a head-hunting feud.¹

Traps. All the pagans are adepts at making traps for catching game and these are often very ingenious. The commonest are the spear-traps (*bengkassan* or *belattek*) which are used for killing deer and pig. Here the pagan applies the principle of the bow. A young sapling, trimmed *in situ*, its end slotted to receive a bamboo spear, acts as the bow. The end of the sapling is led back to a trigger which is controlled by a line of rattan. The line is carried across the probable track of the enemy or quarry, and concealed in the undergrowth. A touch on the line releases the trigger, and the spear, its needle-sharp point usually barbed and notched, is shot by the spring of the sapling across the path. The concealment of the trap and its adjustment call for considerable skill and cunning.

These and similar traps are used in warfare. Owing to the danger to human life their use, even for game, is prohibited. Smaller traps are made for catching rats, squirrels, wild cats

¹ For hunting rights and offences, see p. 172.

and monkeys, both on the fall and on the noose system. Pit traps, disguised with sticks, earth and leaves are prepared for pig, and studded at the bottom with sharpened bamboo stakes (*sudah*).

§ 2

Jungle Produce. I have already mentioned the products of the jungle which provide the pagan with the necessities of everyday life: material for his house, clothing for his body, domestic utensils, and food. The principal jungle products which have a commercial value to the pagans are rattan, wild rubber and gutta percha, gums and resin (*damar*), dyestuffs, fibres, jungle fruits, bamboo, camphor, beeswax, medicinal and poisonous plants, and animal products such as ivory (scarce and only found on the East Coast), skins of the scaly ant-eater (the pangolin, but locally known, erroneously, as armadillo), rhinoceros horn (used by the Chinese for medicinal purposes), and argus pheasant feathers. The collection of edible birds' nests is in the hands of the Mohammedan tribes.

This produce is collected by the pagans and either brought down to trading centres for sale or barter to the Chinese or (in the remoter districts) may be sold to itinerant native traders. The Dayaks are great collectors of jungle produce and in former days came into North Borneo in considerable numbers for that purpose. This produce is now only to be found in the dense forests of the interior. The coastal areas have long been denuded, and owing to their wasteful agricultural methods the pagans, even in the remoter districts, find it necessary to go farther and farther afield.

Reserves may be claimed by villages on tracts of country containing jungle products, compensation for infringement being payable according to native law. Reserves may also be enforced over clumps of bamboo, which of course is not cultivated but over which individuals or groups of owners may assert a right.¹

Rattans. These climbing, spiny palms belong mainly to the genus *Calamus*. They vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, attain great length and support themselves by clinging to the tree trunks with the hooked thorns with which they are armed. They are found wherever there is thick forest and are used for a variety of purposes; besides being exported in large quantities, they have a wide local sale.

Eight varieties are collected, of which the *rotan sagar* is the most valuable. The method of the collector is to cut the stem

¹ For penalties, see p. 173.

off just above the ground and to remove the leaves and the soft terminal portion of the stem. The cane is laid out in the sun to bleach for four days and is then cut into lengths of about eighteen feet, folded once, and packed in bundles of about one hundred. The bundles are either carried, rafted or taken by boat to the buyer as methods of transport permit. There is a large local demand, for rattan is universally used in place of string and nails. For this purpose the cane is carefully split and only the hard outer part is used.¹

Rubber and Gutta Percha. Both wild rubber and gutta percha are found in the Borneo forests, but the collection has fallen off in recent years. The jungle rubber is not so valuable as formerly, owing to the competition of plantation rubber; also the only method of collection practised is to fell every gutta tree over six inches in diameter, with the result that the collector has to go farther into the jungle every year. The bark is ringed at intervals and bamboo or coconut cups placed to catch the flowing latex. Salt is used for coagulating the wild rubber, which is collected both from trees and climbing plants, and the latex is then compressed into balls, in which condition it is sold. By custom a collector is entitled to mark any tree he finds and it is then regarded as his property.

In 1906 the Government considered the desirability of restricting the collection by law, in order to prevent the trees from becoming worked out. Mr. F. W. Fraser, then Resident of the Interior, drew up a report on the subject, wherein he pointed out that to enforce such an ordinance would present grave difficulties, since the collecting areas would have to be patrolled, and the conservative collectors would neither understand nor take kindly to any changes in the methods of collection to which they had been accustomed from time immemorial. The idea of restriction was finally abandoned and this is a typical instance of the difficulties which confront any Government, however well-meaning, when desiring to make changes which will ultimately benefit the pagans themselves.

Damar. Under this name come the hard resinous substances extracted from various jungle trees. *Damar* falls into two general classes, *damar puteh* (white damar) produced by *Agathis* sp., which is completely soluble in alcohol, and resins produced by different members of the *Dipterocarpaceae*, only

¹ Further details concerning this and other jungle produce are to be found in the notes on *Minor Forest Products and Jungle Produce*, by Dr. F. W. Foxworthy, published by the British North Borneo Department of Forestry. See also *British North Borneo*, pp. 238-43.

partially soluble in alcohol but wholly so in turpentine. *Damar* is employed in the preparation of varnish and is used by the pagans themselves to make torches. The collector digs it from the ground at the base of the tree or from the hollows of decayed trunks. It is transported in baskets of split bamboo.

Camphor. The Borneo or barus camphor is a crystalline camphor produced by the *Dryobalanops aromatica*. It is found either in crystals distributed through the grain or in small pockets, and fetches a high price with the Chinese for medicinal purposes. The most important stands in North Borneo occur in the Paitan district and the camphor collection is mainly in the hands of the Rungus and Tambunwas, though in earlier days much was collected by the Dayaks. Here again the procedure is first to fell the tree, which is then cut up into lengths and split up until the camphor is found. Many trees may be felled before the precious camphor is found and this element of uncertainty in the collector's life has given rise to many taboo which must be carefully observed. The following are in force among the pagan collectors of North Borneo, and probably further inquiry would reveal more:

1. No gongs may be beaten in a village before a collecting party sets out.
2. The collectors may not use oil before they go. Nor may they carry with them oil, mirrors or needles. Part of this taboo must be a comparative innovation, since camphor was collected long before mirrors and needles were known.
3. During the expedition a collector may not bathe, but may throw water over himself so long as he is careful not to rub his body dry.
4. Each man must cook for himself. He must abstain from certain kinds of food and must eat a little earth.
5. Only the camphor language may be spoken during an expedition, and neither the Malay word for camphor (*kapor*) nor its equivalent in native dialect may be mentioned.
6. When searching for a tree perfect silence must be observed, as a single word uttered may turn the crystals back to oil again and even render the tree invisible.
7. No white garments, or new clothes may be worn on a camphor expedition.
8. A man should take all his family with him, since if any one of them breaks a custom while the collector is away, all his camphor may turn to water.

The last two rules refer particularly to the Keningau Muruts.

In the *Golden Bough* (i. 115), Sir James Frazer mentions that "camphor hunters in Borneo use the leathery stalk of the Penang palm as a plate for food, and during the whole of the expedition they will never wash the plate, for fear that the camphor might dissolve and disappear from the crevices of the tree." I am uncertain if this taboo is found among the North Borneo pagans, but the bathing prohibition is obviously of the same category, the fear being that the camphor crystals may be washed away or dissolved.

When a tree has been found to contain camphor, one span above, and one below the cut in the trunk which revealed it, belongs to the finder. The camphor extracted from the remainder of the trunk is divided into two equal shares, the finder taking one and the rest of the party sharing the other. It is customary to dedicate a share of the find to the camphor spirit.

Beeswax. The pagans find a good market for beeswax with the Chinese, and they are intrepid collectors of the wild product. The wild bees usually swarm on the underside of the branches of the tall *mengaris* trees (*koompassia excelsa*), which rise to a great height and often have enormous buttress roots. The collector usually goes up without even his *chawat* to reach the nests—there may be as many as thirty on a single tree, often over one hundred feet from the ground. He carries with him a bundle of wooden pegs, and has a rattan attached to his waist. He makes the ascent by driving wooden pegs into the tree, at intervals of eighteen inches, connecting the pegs with another rattan, by claspings which he retains his balance. When his pegs are exhausted he lowers his rattan to the ground for more, and as he ascends the rattan is increased in length by his friends below. Having reached a branch beneath which is a nest, he straddles it and again lets down the rattan, hauling up a basket containing torches and matches. Holding a torch in either hand he brushes the sides of the nest, causing the sleepy bees to come out and drop. He then breaks off lumps of the nest and fills the basket, which is lowered and raised again until no more comb is left.

The bark of these trees is very sappy, and it is chiefly due to the sap that the pegs (which are made of hard wood) stick. If a set of pegs is used a second time, each peg is carefully tested, but usually the tree is stripped and a new ladder is made.¹

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. K. Hardwick for these details.

§ 3

River Craft. The river, like the jungle, develops in the pagan an ingenuity which becomes almost second nature. As I have mentioned, the rivers on the West Coast are generally obstacles to traffic rather than lines of communication, and the skill of the inhabitants of the western watershed is displayed mainly in evading the difficulties they place in the path of the traveller or, at best, in using them to irrigate their fields or to supply them with fish. It is on the broader and slower rivers of the eastern divide that the development of the waterman's skill is greatest. A journey downstream from the headwaters of the Talankai River is a lesson in the adaptation by man to the topography of the country in which he lives, combined with a sound knowledge and realization of the point at which it ceases to be worth while to combat Nature.

A few miles from the central divide between the Padas River basin and the waters flowing out into the Celebes Sea, the traveller finds dug-out canoes in use along the muddy, sluggish creeks which drain the central plateau. The country is almost too swampy to permit of any other means of communication even in normal seasons and, in times of flood, it is otherwise impassable. At a point on the Penawan River two or three miles above its junction with the Sapulot, the hills close in on either bank and the river becomes a raging torrent which, if not actually impassable, is recognized as too venturesome a passage for the small craft in use. A portage across the ridge of hills on one bank leads down to the broader waters formed by the confluence of several navigable streams. A short journey of three miles down the Talankai ends at the head of yet another gorge, where for some miles even the native waterman has realized his limitations and leaves the river for a perilous and unpleasant journey over the rocks that fringe the precipitous rapids into which the river degenerates. From this point onwards the river is, by local standards, navigable, though to the novice the passage is one long fright tinged with admiration at the skill and fearlessness with which the difficulties are surmounted. Even on these traditionally navigable waters, a trader finds it necessary to count on the loss of 50 per cent of his merchandise on the upward and downward journey, and allows for this factor in his calculation of prices.

Boats. In the hills the boats are usually dug-out canoes, but the coastal Dusuns make larger boats or obtain them from their neighbours the Bruneis. It is probable that these Dusuns

were better sailors in earlier times than they are to-day. Dalrymple, writing in 1769, mentions that the Ida'an (Dusuns) of the Kimanis River built vessels and navigated them to Java,¹ but it is possible that this statement may be a mistake and refer to the Bajaus and Bruneis who live in their neighbourhood. Certainly no present day Kimanis Dusun could build a boat in which a voyage to Java could be taken, nor would he be likely to undertake it.

Normally paddles are used for river boatwork, but long bamboo poles are substituted in shallow streams and are used like a punt pole. Poles are also used to propel the bamboo rafts which take the place of canoes above boat limit. These

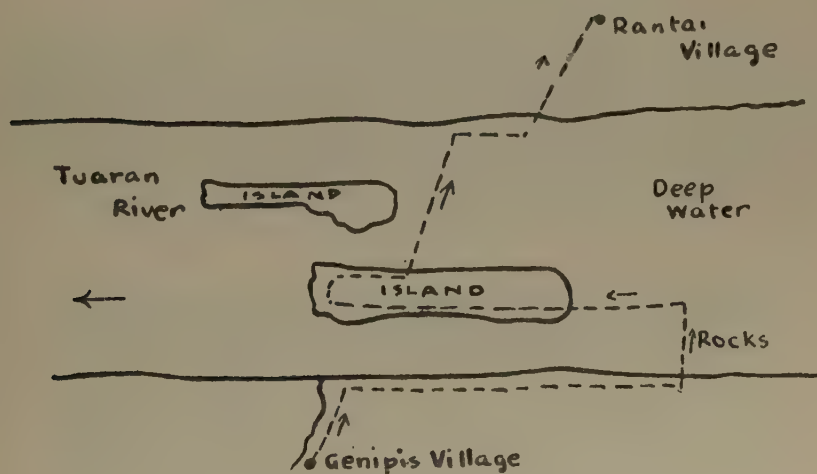


FIG. 7.—Crossing the Tuaran River in flood.

rafts are about twenty feet long with a double layer of bamboos, lashed with rattan or fibre with a raised platform for any goods to be carried. A man with a pole stands at either end and when shooting rapids the skill with which the pagan keeps his balance and at the same time fends the raft from the great rocks that confront it on either side, does a waterman's heart good to watch. Even so, rafts are often upset by a hidden snag, as every traveller in Murut country knows, but since all pagans can swim there is seldom any loss of life.

The hill people are also adepts at crossing rivers in flood—no easy matter when the rains have swollen the mountain streams to rushing torrents. The beds of these streams are

¹ *A Plan for Extending the Commerce of this Kingdom and of the East India Company*, p. 50.

usually covered with slippery stone boulders and these and the strong current make it difficult to keep one's balance, especially when the water is breast high. The pagan will go across cheerfully with a load, raising it on to his shoulders if the water is high, and if he has no load he will sometimes carry a stone to save himself from being swept away. At times a straight ford is impossible and then it is necessary to take advantage of any collection of rocks or small islands that may lie in the stream. The diagram on page 107 shows how my Dusun carriers once helped me to cross the upper Tuaran in high flood. I was unencumbered ; they carried loads of 60 lbs.

§ 4

Fishing. Native methods of fishing are, of course, seen at their best among the Mohammedan tribes, but the pagans, although primarily agriculturists, also have various methods of catching the fish that are found in their rivers. Seine nets and also rod and line are employed, worms or small insects being used for bait, while thorns of the rattan leaves are sometimes used for hooks.¹ On the Tuaran River a crude kind of bow with a captive arrow is sometimes employed. In the hills the favourite method, doubtless because it takes up least time, is by damming part of the stream with stones in an arrow-head formation, with an opening at the point for long conical traps, made on the same principle as our lobster pots, into which the fish are swept, particularly when the river is high, while the water rushes through.

Mr. I. H. N. Evans describes² an ingenious form of trap in use among the Tempasuk Dusuns. This is "a bottomless conical basket of natural or wait-a-bit rattan twigs. The reflexed thorns of the plant are left adhering on the inside, the strands of rattan being so arranged that the thorns point backwards—that is, towards the apex of the trap. Walls of stones with small holes in them at intervals are built at right angles across the river to receive the traps. These are inserted with their openings facing up-stream, so that fish descending the river put their heads into what appears to them to be breaches in the wall, but are unable to withdraw again owing to the thorns of the traps catching them under their scales. Often this type of trap is used without thorns."

In the bigger rivers, where the stream flows more placidly

¹ Hatton, Diary, 16 March, 1882.

² *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 109.



A MURUT RAFT



Photos

N. F. Raboneau

TUBA FISHING

The root is being prepared on a platform above the river.



and deep pools are found, tickling is often practised. Gliding quietly into the water at the top end of a pool or, preferably, at the bottom, if there is a return eddy, an adept at this craft, carried along by the stream, will gently cajole the fish until the final grip of the gills is secured. On one occasion a Dusun of Merak-Perak in the Marudu district, renowned for his skill in this method of fishing, on two consecutive efforts came up with three fish, of approximately two pounds each, one held in his mouth and one in each hand.

Large hauls of fish are made by the use of the *tuba* root, a process which has often been described. For this a large party assembles, each person bringing his own bundle of *tuba*, which is pounded on a bamboo platform built over a pool or quiet reach, so that the milky pulp falls into the pool below and stupefies the fish though it does not render them unfit for eating. As soon as the poison begins to take effect everyone dives and dives again, shouting with glee as they come up with fish in their hands. *Tuba* fishing is the nearest thing to a river picnic that the pagan knows. Fish caught in this way may be preserved by being split open, salted and allowed to dry in the sun.

Fishing Rights. The pagans, true to their own very sound views on what is right and proper in matters of hospitality, allow a passing traveller to take a few fish out of a trap for personal consumption on the spot. But if he oversteps the bounds of hospitality he becomes liable to definite penalties and among the Tambunan Dusuns there is a custom known as *teguh* (reserve) whereby a reach in which good fish are known to be is closed for a certain period to allow the fish to increase.

CHAPTER VII

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES

§ 1

Music. The music of the North Borneo pagans is founded on the pentatonic scale (c, d, e, g, a, c). I think one may say that they are fond of music ; it certainly plays a considerable part in their lives, though they have no professional musicians and I have not found that they employ music to facilitate labour as, for example, the Bajaus do when paddling a boat ; nor have I discovered any legends about music.

Mr. W. J. Worth, Assistant Secretary of the Chartered Company, and an accomplished musician, made a study of Murut instruments and music during a visit to North Borneo in 1923 and he has been kind enough to send me the following notes. Referring to the Muruts, he says :

“ With one or two exceptions, their instruments were crude, but they managed to extract some quite satisfactory tunes from them. One of the most interesting was the *sumpotan*, a reed instrument blown by the mouth. The *sumpotan* consists of eight bamboo pipes fitted vertically into the empty shell of a gourd, which functions as a wind chest. One of the pipes is a dummy ; the others produce, by ‘ free ’ reeds, the notes of the pentatonic scale. Three of the pipes are stopped at their orifices by the fingers of the right hand ; three others have small apertures at their base, which are stopped by the fingers of the left hand ; while the remaining pipe is a drone. At times two or three of the pipes sound together, yet the effect is not unpleasant. Some of these *sumpotan* are cleverly constructed and ornamented with quaint devices. I am quite unable to account for the existence of such a complex instrument among a semi-savage tribe.

“ At Keningau, the Resident, Mr. G. C. Woolley, kindly arranged for the natives to hold an informal concert. They came with all sorts of strange-looking instruments, and one of the players had been temporarily released from gaol for the



SUMPOTAN



NOSE-FLUTE



Photos

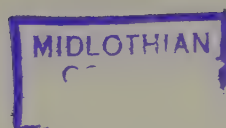
RAKAKONG



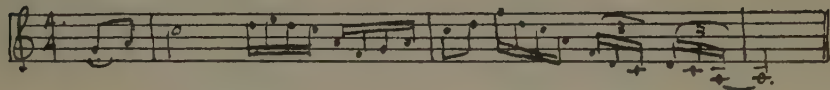
SENDATONG

E. G. Grant

PAGAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

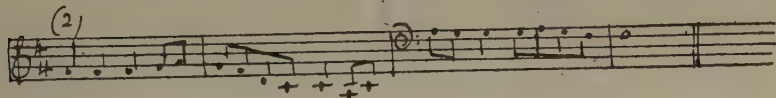
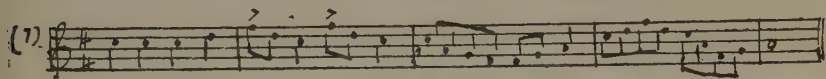


purpose! Two clumsy-looking hollow sticks were said to be flutes (*suling*). I wondered how it was possible to extract musical sounds from such unpromising material, but was astonished to hear one of the party pipe out this florid melody:



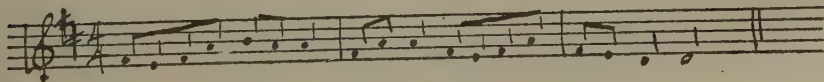
My surprise mounted to bewilderment when another man plugged his left nostril with a piece of rag, and utilized the remaining cavity for blowing his *tulali*, or nose-flute. True, the melody in this case was simpler, but it was a mystery how the native played the instrument at all. There were four apertures in this flute, the two upper and the two lower being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart, the two middle 3 in. apart.

"Another instrument played was the *sendatong*, or long guitar. This was an affair with a very long neck, a body only about six inches in width, and a foot-rest. There were only two strings, tuned by pegs; and by means of a ring attached to the neck the tuning could be more delicately adjusted. A couple of refrains played on this instrument were:



"The *gulintan* is a circular instrument about six inches in diameter, with half a dozen strings running longitudinally down it. The strings are tuned by sticks of wood inserted between the body and the string at either end, and are plucked by each hand in succession.

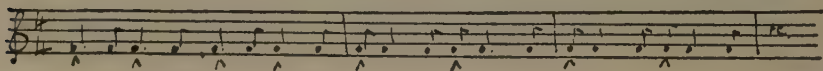
"Like the small boys of Britain, the Muruts have their jews' harp, which they call *bungkau*. These are played exactly like the European equivalent, that is by holding them to the mouth and plucking with the thumb a thin piece of vibrating material. But instead of being made of steel, they are constructed of wood, and very delicate is their construction. The following snatch of melody—played on the Murut jews' harp—with its allusiveness



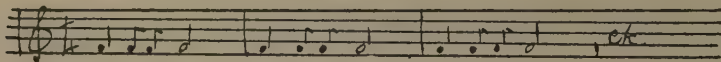
to the tune of 'There is a happy land,' reminds us that that tune is of Eastern origin.

"Another instrument played was the *bakakong*, a sort of xylophone made of segments of bamboo of different lengths strung together to produce the notes of the scale, and played with two sticks. The native who performed on this instrument used both sticks at each stroke, producing a two-part harmony by no means discordant.

"But by far the most important of the native instruments is the ordinary gong, which is regarded as a necessary family appurtenance, so necessary indeed that it is a measure of wealth, and constitutes part of a girl's bride-price on marriage. I was introduced by the Resident to an old chief who illustrated the significance of certain rhythms in gong-beating. This is the accepted method of calling the people of a village together :



The quick reiteration of beats is an intimation that some trouble is afoot. This pattern betokens that someone has taken a head :



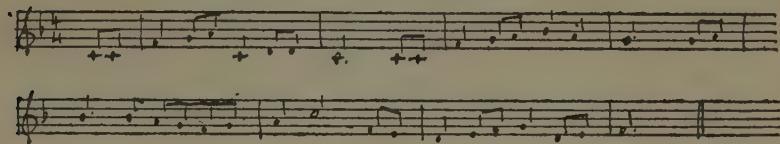
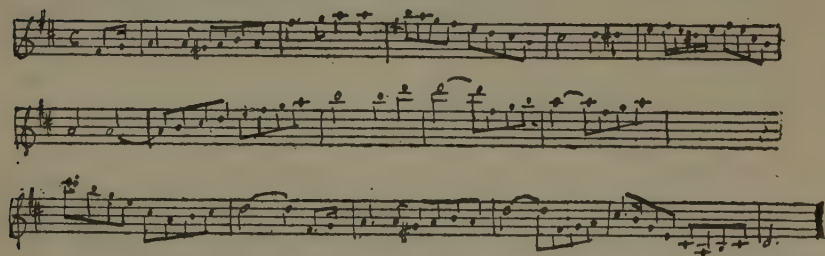
A steady succession of beats is an invitation to 'come and have a drink.' To announce that someone is dying, the beats start very slowly and then steadily increase in rapidity; when the death has actually occurred, the converse process takes place. We were told by the old chief that people can recognize the gong of a particular individual at a distance of five miles.

"In many houses in North Borneo one comes across an instrument called the *gulintangan*, which is a series of gongs of different sizes producing the notes of the scale and played with sticks.

"In the coastal towns one meets with melodies, set to native words, which are suspiciously European in origin. Two of these are quoted below. The first, *Lagi Salamat* ('Goodbye Again') is built on the conventional lines of European music; but the second, *Krunchong* (meaning 'a dance with bells') is not structurally imitative of Western music, though it contains familiar 'figures.' It is principally interesting by reason of its unrestrained freedom, the melody covering the extraordinary

compass of two octaves and a fourth. Both these melodies have, I think, been adopted from the Malays."

LAGI SALAMAT

KRUNCHONG¹

These instruments are widely distributed and are found amongst the Dusun groups as well as amongst the Muruts. The *sendatong* may have three strings, made from fibre or wire. The Dusun name for this instrument is *biula*, which is curiously close to our 'violin,' though the instrument is twanged or strummed, not played with a bow. The *gulintan* is made from a length of bamboo, the narrow strips of the outside of the section forming the strings. Mr. Evans mentions that in the Tempasuk district it is played by the women.² The jews' harps (Dusun *toriding*) besides being made of wood, are made of bamboo, encased and attached by string to a bamboo holder which is often ornamented with a delicately incised design.

As Mr. Worth observes, the pagans' gongs really mean more to them than mere musical instruments. They represent the most important part of the family wealth particularly in the hill districts, where people turn their capital into gongs as Europeans turn theirs into pearls and diamonds. Most of these gongs came originally from Brunei.

The signalling gongs are the great deep-toned *tawak tawak*, with huge protruding bosses and wide edges. Then there are innumerable varieties of the *chenang*, brass gongs of different sizes, but usually about two feet in diameter, the boss protruding very slightly from the face. Of these the *chenang* Kimanis, a

¹ Melody transcribed by Dr. H. C. Jackson.

² *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 132.

beautiful thing with a hammered face, is the most valuable. The prices of *chenang* range from one to three hundred dollars. Kimanis also has a *chenang* with two bosses called *chenang betina* (female), for obvious reasons. The pagans are great connoisseurs of these gongs and quick to detect any flaw, however skilfully the seller may have tried to conceal it. Cracks may be discovered by filling the gong with water, but the practised ear of the pagan will usually notice any defect as soon as the instrument is struck.

The large gongs are played mostly by the men, generally in unison. The *gulintangan* mentioned by Mr. Worth are played by the women and girls. They are stretched on strings in a bamboo or wooden frame, placed upon the floor, the player kneeling or squatting and striking them in the manner of a dulcimer with a piece of wood held in either hand.

Drums, which are not in such common use as gongs, are made from hollowed logs with goat, monkey, or deer skin stretched tightly over one or either end, and lashed on with rattan.

§ 2

Dancing. Although the pagans' dances have their religious significance (as for example at the festival after harvest or at head-feasts), nevertheless the Muruts, and to a lesser extent the Dusuns, frequently indulge in dancing for the pleasure of the thing and nothing else. These dances are almost always accompanied by gongs. The Murut dancing-floor has been described. The average Murut dance is a simple and usually uninspiring affair, a company of men and girls wheeling in time slowly round the floor, each with their hands on the shoulders of the person in front. As the night wears on, more and more dancers join the circle, warmed by the *tapai* they have drunk; the gongs beat faster and the stamping causes the swaying floor to rock higher and higher, so that a step out of time means a fall—much to everyone else's enjoyment.

The following is the description of a Dusun dance seen at Putatan by Mr. Whitehead:¹

"The dancers consist of three persons—two women, one at each end of the long house, and a man, who seems to do much as he likes. The women have little to do, merely posturing, holding out their arms at full length and slowly turning their hands up and down; their feet are slowly moved without

¹ *The Exploration of Mount Kinabalu*, p. 26.



Photo

G. Bushell

BRASS UTENSILS AND GONGS USED BY THE PAGANS

(From the Author's Collection)

The brass anklet in the front centre is a specimen of those worn by the Tuaran women. The gong on the right is a *chenang* Kimanis.

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changing their place on the floor during the whole dance. The man, however, careers up and down the house with a huge grass appendage tied to his back with bits of jingling metal and horn fastened to it; with bounds, accompanied by fiendish yells like a roaring maniac, he remains dancing a sort of breakdown before one of his partners for a few moments, then with a bound he is off to the other end of the house; as this is considered really hard work there are numerous intervals during the performance, which are occupied in administering potations to the supposed exhausted male performer. The music consists of gongs beaten in unison, and the beating of the native tom-tom."

Poetry. The pagans have no form of writing, the knotted *tembuku*, or rattan tally, being the nearest approach to a letter or account book. A *tembuku* with, say, ten knots in it may be sent to a man and he will understand perfectly that this is to say, "Dear So-and-so, please come and see me in ten days from the day you receive this," and will untie a knot daily until only so many remain as the days required to make his journey. This method is employed by District Officers calling chiefs in to a meeting.

The pagans' literature, in the form of legends and poetry, is handed down orally from generation to generation. The legends will be dealt with hereafter; of their poetry, which is sung or chanted, usually to the accompaniment of gongs and dancing, one example has been given already and a fuller and finer specimen will be found in the chapter on Headhunting. These chants seem to me to reveal surprising literary and poetical qualities. The following short and more homely drinking-song was collected and translated by Mr. Woolley.¹ The original lines were dictated by a Peluan Murut.

I

Ho ye, our brethren,
Drink ye the *tapai*,
Taste ye the brewing!
Poor though the *tapai* be,
Yet drink ye freely.
Unlike our neighbours
We seldom make *tapai*:
We of a truth now
Are poor men and needy.

¹ First published in the *British North Borneo Herald*, May 1, 1928.

II

Ho ye, our brethren,
 What more is wanting ?
 If there be drink here,
 What then is lacking ?
 " Naught to drink have we,"
 Do ye thus tell us ?
 Yet there is drink here :
 Who would ask more of you ?

As Mr. Woolley observes, " the printed version may seem cold and dull, but heard at night in a Murut long house, where a few coconut-oil lamps or resin torches throw uncertain lights, and the deep chorus of the men's voices, sometimes with a laughing note, and sometimes with an undertone of fierce savagery, is backed by the persistent booming of gongs and the recurrent crash of timbers as the singers revolve and leap up and down on the spring dancing-platform, the effect is not without its thrills, and an experience is gained which repays days of travel along native tracks over steep and slippery hills."

Most of these chants are, one may suppose, of considerable antiquity, but it is good to find that the composition of poetry is not obsolete, for Mr. Woolley has also collected from the Dalit district, Keningau, a specimen of a song used on the visit of a European to the village. This must be quite modern : that is, produced within the last twenty years or so. Mr. Woolley has kindly allowed me to reproduce his translation.¹ The Murut original of this and the drinking-song will be found in Appendix B.

Come, women and girls,
 Play and make merry,
 Now on this evening,
 On this night.
 Not daily, not every day is it
 That strangers visit, that men come to us.
 A white padi-bird, a *kenawai*,²
 Whilst many of us are here, has come to us.
 Were it not for the white *kenawai*
 Our home would be an island, set in the midst of the flood,
 Formerly, in the days of old,

¹ First published in *Journal*, Malayan Branch, R.A.S., Vol. V, Part II, November 1927.

² The European visitor.

There was no populous house, before the long Padi Mortar came ;¹
All men stabbed and thrust with spears.
Now in these days the sun is risen ;
Like brethren, brothers and sisters,
Are all the houses, all the people of the land.
Thus much do we say : do not add more.

The Muruts sing these songs in unison, and in a minor key, a leader beginning, the others joining in ; sometimes men and women sing together, at others the men sing one part and the women give the response. The songs are not all on a high plane by any means ; at a domestic ' sing-song ' lines containing the broadest humour may be improvised, to the delight of all the company.

§ 3

Decoration. All the pagans have a feeling for the decorative, which is, perhaps, best shown in the ornamentation of their grave-shelters. The finest examples are found in the Papar district : wooden structures painted white with lime with the continuous looped coil design (so common throughout Assam and Cochin China) in ochre. One rarely sees any attempt to reproduce animals or inanimate forms, but almost every bamboo or wooden article the pagan makes, from bamboo pipes to wooden shields, is ornamented with incised designs, usually formal scrolls and coils, the same pattern being met with over and over again.

Tattooing. The pagans do not paint any part of their bodies, and to-day one does not see so much tattooing, now that headhunting (with which tattooing was closely associated) has died out. Tattooing was formerly considered an almost indispensable sign of manhood, though it was also practised, but more rarely and never so elaborately, on the women. Among the Rundum Muruts and neighbouring groups, stars on the front of the shoulder, above the breast, are often seen. Each star denoted a head having been taken. When the third had been taken, another star was placed on the throat ; then the fore-arms and thighs were tattooed, but with no special design.

Mr. Woolley was once told in the Bol district that the straight lines on a woman's forearm, from the wrist up towards the elbow, represented torches, since a woman was naturally such a fool that when, after death, she was travelling on the long

¹ *Limanggong*, the long log with holes, used for a rice-mortar, is a common synonym for a man. Here it means the White Men.

road to the land beyond the grave, she would lose her way if she had not a torch.

The most usual devices used by the Peluans are a deer and the *crux ansata* (☥). Mr. Lease tells me that he once saw a Peluan chief with the words "Lea and Perrins" tattooed on his forearm; he stated that this was a 'pattern' he had copied from a piece of paper.

After the first head the Tambunan Dusuns used to tattoo the whole front of the body with a scroll design. Writing of the Tempasuk Dusuns, St. John mentions¹ "a tattooed band, two inches broad, stretching in an arc from each shoulder, meeting on their stomachs, then turning off to their hips; and some of them had a tattooed band extending from the shoulder to the hand."

Witti thus describes (Diary, November 19, 1880) tattoo designs he found amongst the Ranau Dusuns, on the upper Sugut: "The ornament begins below the stomach and rises to the shoulders, like the skirt of a coat, then down the upper arms; here the two broad stripes end and the fore-end, on its inner side, shows a number of narrow stripes. These latter are more numerous if the man-slayer be at the same time well-to-do." Later (May 30, 1881) he mentions that the Dusuns of Tamalan were all tattooed, even the mere lads, since everyone who had taken part in a *sumunggup* (putting a slave to death)² was entitled to be tattooed.

Hatton mentions (Diary, April 6, 1882), an ex-headman of Senendan, upper Labuk, who had two square tattoo marks on his back, because he had run away in a fight. He had been deposed. One would have liked to know more about this man and whether it was by the decree of his people that these marks of shame were tattooed upon him.

Most of the designs are coils and scrolls, but the scorpion design was once common—clearly a symbol for an armed warrior. I once saw an old man of Tiong, upper Tuaran, who had a crude representation of a lizard tattooed upon his thigh. The following is a reproduction of a sketch made on the spot:

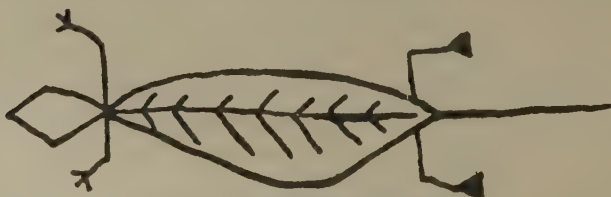


FIG. 8.—Lizard tattoo pattern.

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. 249, 374.

² See page 118.



MURUT DECORATIVE ART

- 1, 2, 3. Bamboo tobacco pipes; the raised portion is the bowl, and the brass prongs allow the pipes to be attached to the loincloth when not in use.
4. Wooden bracelet. 5 and 7. Tobacco boxes. 6. String of shell-beads (*bungkas*).

(Drawing by Rosemary Nicholl from the Author's Collection.)

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The pattern to be tattooed is roughly drawn on the body with lampblack and the work is done with a small hammer and four or six needles lashed into a piece of bamboo, lampblack being used for the colouring, which, when finished, appears as a slaty-black. I have never heard of any part of the face, except above the eyebrows, being tattooed, nor, except as mentioned by Hatton, the back. Nor have I been able to discover any ceremonies connected with tattooing; there seem to have been no provisions that a man being tattooed must have special food or be fed from special vessels.

In response to a request for information on certain points, Mr. G. C. Woolley obtained a statement from Lance-Corporal Gamotan, a Peluan Murut from Pohun Batu. The statement was agreed to by Corporal Tungkoyan, a Tenom Murut, and I give it *verbatim* in Mr. Woolley's translation:

"No wooden blocks are used to stamp the patterns on the skin: all are drawn by hand before the actual operation is commenced.

"Peluan of Mengalong, Pahl, Dalit, Pohun Batu, men and women, tattoo over the eyebrows: Tenom Muruts do not. Apart from this you could not identify a man's race or district from his tattoo marks.

"Formerly tattoo was a sign that a man was a warrior. He was not eligible for tattoo if he had not yet been on a raid. A woman was not eligible if she had not yet passed as an adept at women's work, basket work, weaving, and so on. The woman's tattoo was mostly in lines: she might not use the scorpion pattern, or the circular and star-like patterns which men have on the shoulders and throat.

"Now all these rules are relaxed: anyone can be tattooed in any way he likes.

"We used to be told that in our journey after death we should come to a great river: if we were tattooed, the ferryman would take us across in his boat: if the tattoo was elaborate, there was a chance that some of the patterns would take his fancy, even though he disapproved of others, and we should get our passage and directions for the remainder of our journey on the far side. If a man who was not tattooed came to the river, the ferryman would tell him that there was a big log alongside the bank further upstream, and that he could get on it and paddle or pole himself across."

§ 4

Basket Work. The pagans, both men and women, are great carriers and carry everything in various forms of baskets, to which are attached broad bands of tree-bark fibre or plaited rattan to fit over the shoulders of the carrier. They are skilled in the making of these baskets, which vary in size and design according to the uses for which they are required.

The best example is the Dusun *bongun*, the sides of which are made from the shiny brown skin that clothes the mid-rib of the sago fronds. These are stiffened with rattan ribs and sewn with split lengths of rattan. The basket stands about three feet from the ground and in shape they are rather like inverted milk-cans, tapering to the base which is made of soft wood, with a lid whose top is of the same material and its sides of tree-bark. A wooden board is attached to one side, so that the basket may rest flat on the carrier's back. An extra strap may be attached to go round the forehead and so take some of the strain off the shoulders if the load is extra heavy. *Bongun* are watertight and are admirable receptacles for carrying through the jungle anything liable to be damaged by the rain. They are invariably used by European travellers for carrying clothes and food in the jungle, and the best examples are made by the Tempasuk Dusuns.

The *basong*, made by the Tempasuk and other groups, is similar to the *bongun*, but wider and without a lid. It is used for carrying firewood, bamboo water-tubes and agricultural produce of all kinds.

The *brahit* is a smaller basket, used by the pagans for personal belongings whilst on the march. It is made of plaited rattan with a wide rectangular base of wood, tapering to a circular mouth, with a wooden or rattan cover.

Receptacles for carrying articles such as jars and gongs are made with a single plank of wood with openwork rattan sides into which the load is crammed. The Kiau and Ranau Dusuns bring down their tobacco to the coast in baskets on the *basong* principle, but with a superstructure of rattan ribs, so that the basket can be piled high, as shown in the illustration facing page 94. Women's baskets are woven from grasses into decorative patterns, the sides being ornamented with coloured beads.

Mat Work. The designs on this decorative basket work and on the mats woven by the women vary in different districts, and each design has a definite representation and meaning. The



Photo

G. Bushell

PAGAN SHIELD AND BASKETS

(From the Author's Collection)

1. Pegs made from boar's tusks (Bol area).
2. Wooden shield (Rundum area).
- 3, 4. Women's baskets (Tenom area).
5. Carrying-basket (*bongon*) (Kiau area).

making of these articles, in which the pagan decorative craftsmanship is seen at its height, is in the hands of the women and is the chief occupation of the young girls.

Hat-Making. The pagans have very effective sun-hats known as *saroung*. The industry of hat-making is one of considerable importance among all the groups (the West Coast and Tambunan Dusuns in particular), and the results are distinctive. Woven of plaited bamboo, rattan, grasses and other jungle plants, they are perhaps the most ornamental of all the native products. Their shape, material and colouring vary as one progresses from district to district, so that it is possible to tell where a man comes from by the hat he is wearing. These variegations are better seen than described and the accompanying plate will give a good idea of the principal designs in vogue. It may be noted that No. 4, which is very common among the coastal Dusuns, is identical with that shown in Ling Roth's *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (ii, 61), as coming from Sambas in Dutch Borneo.

§ 5

Weaving. The pagan women are not nearly so skilled in weaving as the women of the Mohammedan tribes, but nevertheless they produce serviceable cloth, though nowadays much less than formerly, since cheap cotton and calico can be obtained from the Chinese traders.

Even in the remote Rundum country the cloth for the men's *chawat* (loincloths) is bought from the Chinese; only the older men still wear *chawat* and sleeveless coats of tree-bark. Whitehead gives the following description of the making of a tree-bark coat (*baju*):¹

"The bark is peeled off a tree in broad strips and is very united and flexible; it is then hammered all over with a heavy wooden instrument, which has a flat surface on one side cut in deep cross lines like a file; this breaks up the harder tissues of the bark and reduces it to a very pliant, though by no means united, texture. The bark being full of rents and holes, this difficulty is overcome by transverse darning: one of these coats now before me has no fewer than 270 transverse strings on the back alone, each thread penetrating the outer surface only, and assists to work out a cross pattern for ornamentation. The size of a strip of bark for a *baju* is about five feet by eighteen inches. This, after being prepared, is folded in half: the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

half for the front of the jacket is divided right down the centre ; the sides are stitched up, leaving holes for the arms ; from the back of the neck hang narrow strips of bark or long streamers of coloured wool. The bark is mostly reddish-brown ; but the best kind is white, the texture being more united and requiring little or no transverse stitching, but is occasionally ornamented with coloured patterns in wool. The sewing-thread is made from pineapple leaves, which plant was growing in a semi-wild state on some hills near, the fruit being apparently valueless to the Muruts."

Von Donop mentions (Diary, May 24, 1882) that these coats will not stand washing. Certainly they never are washed and become indescribably filthy, but they are warm and serve the wearer well in the cool climate of the hills.

The pagan loom is a simple but practical instrument. An example I obtained in the Marudu district will be seen in the accompanying illustration ; it is exactly similar to one in the possession of the British Museum.

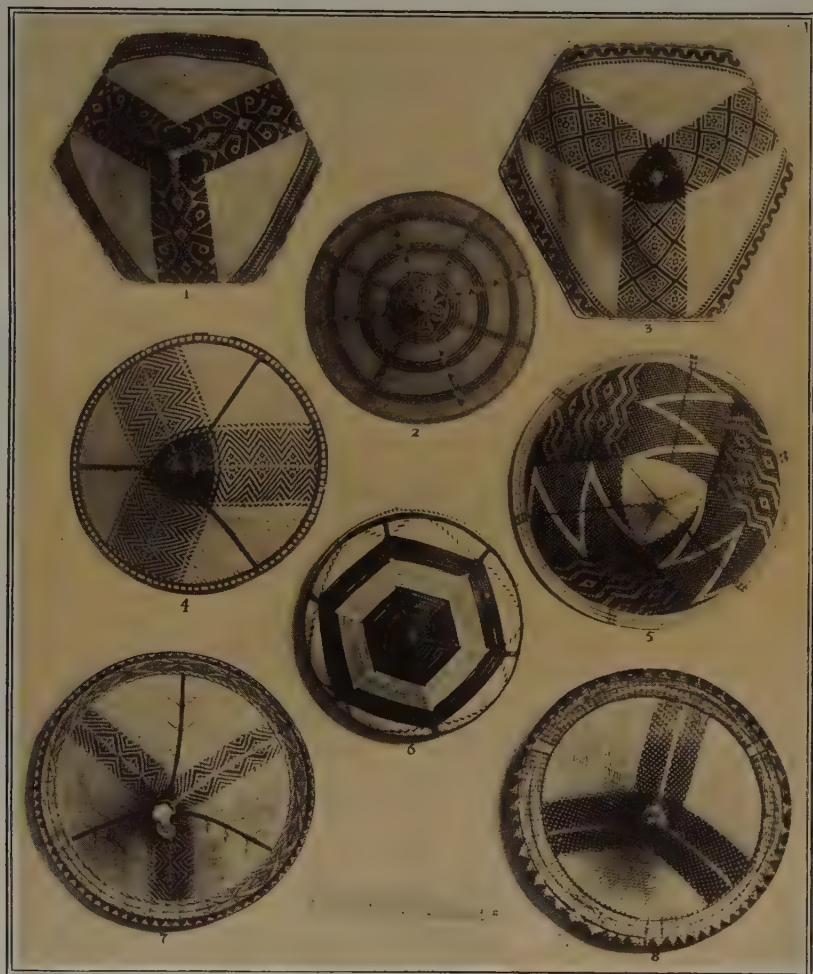
In some of the Dusun districts (as Tempasuk and upper Tuaran) native-spun cotton is still used, though rarely now that the manufactured article may be had so cheaply from the Chinese. But most of the pagan women use the macerated fibre of the *lamba* grass (*Curculigo latifolia*), a weed with a broad leaf and a yellow flower which grows freely in scrub and secondary jungle. According to Whitehead:¹ "The lengths of fibre which run in parallel lines along the underside of the leaf are separated and tied together. . . . The fibre is wound round a stick, and when sufficient has been obtained is woven into a hard cloth on the small Dusun looms."

This produces a stiff cloth, very hard and durable, which, dyed with the native indigo, is used for men's coats, and women's bodices, petticoats and hoods.

Dyeing. The blue dye is prepared from the leaves of what is commonly called the native indigo (*taun* is the Dusun name), but I have not been able to identify it, though I have often seen the dye being prepared. The leaves are placed in water and boiled and the cloth is then immersed. Black and red dyes from jungle roots and leaves are produced in a similar manner.

Leather. Skins are very seldom worked for clothing, though in Murut country one may occasionally see the sleeveless coats made from the skin of the tree leopard and seat-mats from the same material or (more commonly) from the skin of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 180.



Photo

G. Rushell

SUN HATS

(From the Author's Collection)

1, 2, 3. Rundum Murut.
6. Tuaran Dusun.

4. Papar Dusun.
7. Putatan Dusun.

5. Tambunan Dusun.
8. Kiau Dusun.

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small Malayan honey-bear. No skins are used for storing liquids, since the bamboo is more convenient and more readily procured and adapted.

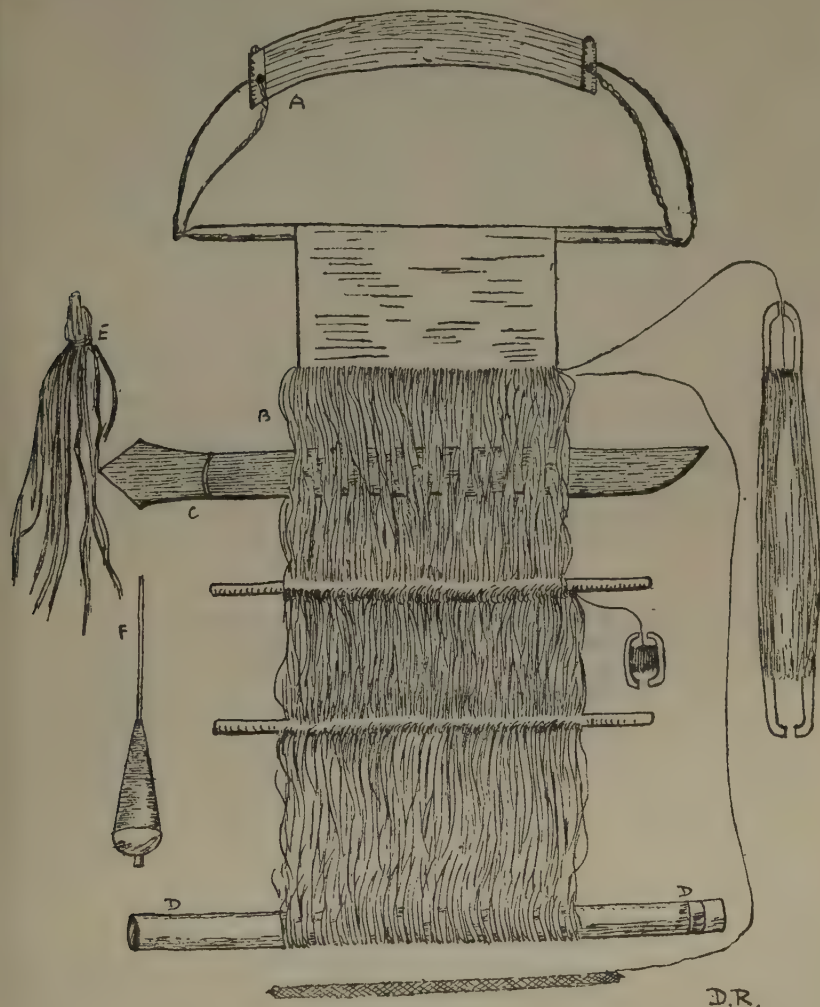


FIG. 9.—Dusun Loom.

- A. Belt against which worker leans to keep loom taut. B. Warp of *lamba* grass.
 C. Wooden sword for beating up cloth. D. Pole attached to house posts.
 E. Raw *lamba* grass. F. Cotton bobbin.

§ 6

Blacksmiths. In most villages one finds a blacksmith with a primitive forge and tools, the implements turned out being strong and serviceable, without much finish, but suitable for

workaday needs : such are the cutting-knives, reaping-knives, and spear-heads. But in some villages, notably Kiau, spears and weapons of fine workmanship are turned out and these are always in demand.

Spears. A spear always serves the bearer, in addition to its more direct purposes, as a staff over the uneven surface of the jungle, as a prop to steady him when he crosses the swift-flowing torrents, or as an alpenstock to help him along the peaks and crags of the mountains among which he lives. The shaft is, therefore, a matter of importance and considerable skill is displayed in the selection of a suitable piece of wood and the trimming of it to the size and weight required.

Speaking generally, any of the tougher hardwoods may be used. A straight piece of suitable length is selected and trimmed down until a round, polished, smooth haft is obtained, strong enough to stand the stress of use, but light enough not to weary the user.

The hunting-spear is usually a light weapon, seldom exceeding six feet over all in length, of which the light steel head accounts for six or eight inches. A longer weapon would be a hindrance in the thick jungles and a heavier head, although more efficacious against big game, would be unduly large against the smaller animals which form so important a part of the native pothunter's bag.

The fighting-spear is a much more elaborate piece of craftsmanship. The shaft is carefully chosen and fashioned out of one of the choicer and rarer woods. Its length may be nine or ten feet. A ferrule of silver or silver-gilt, often elaborately chased, adorns and gives strength to the end and holds in place the brightly polished spear-head. On the steel itself is lavished all the craft of the blacksmith. Above the steel tongue which fits into the wooden shaft the blade is shaped into graceful curves and often engraved with conventional patterns. It swells out above the neck somewhat abruptly and then tapers off gradually to a graceful point. It is usually straight in the edge, but a rare and prized pattern has the wavy edge of the Malay *kris*. It is sometimes further elaborated by the use of *pamur*, the peculiar damascene effect which is the result of the highest skill of the smith. *Pamur* produces a rough ribbed surface and is valued not only for the good tempering which the production of this surface entails, but also because the inequalities offer a good holding ground for poison, which would be wiped off a smooth blade as it was thrust into the victim.

Swords. As already mentioned, the swords in general use



Photo

TEMOGUN WITH SPEAR

Showing method of carrying pipe, dart-case and tobacco-box.

Man Singh



Photo by courtesy of

MURUT CARRYING BONGUN

With hair-decked *gayang*.

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among the pagans are the *gayang* and the *parang hilang*. These are often obtained from Dayaks or from the Mohammedan tribes, but some of the pagan blacksmiths have learnt their manufacture and occasionally turn out weapons of good workmanship.

Superficially these weapons resemble one another. The blade is about twenty inches in length. As it springs from the hilt, it is an inch in width and half an inch or more in thickness. As it widens, the thickness is tapered off and, some four inches from the point, it is two inches in width. It is single-edged and its blunt side is ornamented with scroll and filigree work in the steel itself. The blade is also drilled through in conventional design and the circular holes inlaid with brass as a further decoration. The hilts are often elaborately carved from bone or stag's horn, and the sheaths are usually ornamented with strands of long black hair, nowadays of goat but in the olden times the hair of those whom the owner had conquered and slain in battle.

The *hilang* has a peculiarity which distinguishes it from other weapons. The blade is curved in section and, in the hands of a novice or an unskilled user, is liable to glance away from its target and inflict a wound on the wielder. The adept makes use of this peculiarity and, with a slicing rather than a direct cutting blow, is able to deal a far more serious wound than is possible with any other weapon.

Blowpipes. The blowpipe (*sumptitan*) is a striking example of a very highly developed craft. A piece of hardwood, from six to nine feet long, is trimmed down to a diameter of some three inches. It is then set upright in a wooden frame and secured by rattan until it is absolutely rigid. From the upper end, the boring of the central tube is then begun, chisels with cutting edges about a quarter of an inch in width being used. At each stroke the chisel is given a slight twist to secure a circular orifice; as the hole becomes deeper and deeper, longer chisels are employed until the task is completed and the timber bored through from end to end. The blowpipe is usually furnished with a spear-head fixed bayonet-wise at its muzzle and a small sight is arranged above the barrel to guide the eye of the marksman. With a view to combating the sag which the weight of the spear-head, added to the weight of the pipe itself, will eventually cause, the bore is made with a slight curve, so that, when the pipe is in use, the curve in the pipe and the curve in the bore neutralize one another. Whether this clever combating of a physical difficulty is due to casuistry or was

originally the result of preliminary calculation is not known, but the fact that more or less untutored savages should have evolved so efficient a remedy by either process adds to the surprise with which one contemplates a piece of work so complete and polished as a *sumpitan*.

When the roughly-squared block has been pierced, the bore is polished with lengths of rattan and the rough exterior of the tube is pared down and smoothed. The result is a polished shaft, eight feet or so in length, and something over an inch in diameter, traversed throughout its length by a hole about half an inch across. A horn or bone mouthpiece and the ' bayonet ' and sight are fitted to make it ready for use against man or beast.

The darts are fashioned from the ribs of a palm leaf and are about six inches long of the thickness of an ordinary knitting-needle. The point is sharpened and tipped with one or other of the native poisons, chiefly a mixture made from the bark of the *upas* tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*), and the macerated juice of the *bima* palm, in the proportion of two to one. The *upas* juice is said to be harmless alone, but when mixed with *bima* the result is deadly and convulsions start in under a minute after a wound has been made. The tip is often slightly barbed, and nicked an inch or so from the point in the hope that any effort to extract the dart from the wound will snap it and leave the poisoned surface in the wound. The butt of the dart is fitted with a plug of palm-pith which is neatly cut on an appropriate bone gauge to fit the bore of the weapon.

CHAPTER VIII

TRADE AND BARTER

§ I

IN olden times, the primitive pagan communities in the hills of North Borneo could have known little of trade. Each community produced the same commodities, sufficient to meet its simple needs ; and each village group was self-supporting. But within the village the communal spirit prevailed, so that the individual profited by the labour of many, and consequently was not entirely dependent on his own exertions. Invariably the village produced its own food and its own liquor. Such clothes as were needed were made from tree-bark or woven by the women, who also made the sleeping-mats and carrying-baskets. In almost every village was a smith who fashioned tools and weapons. Each man was his own carpenter and the bamboo supplied material for household utensils such as water tubes or personal utensils such as dart boxes or tobacco pipes. Even the tobacco smoked in those pipes was grown in the hill country, although not by every village.

The development of the barter instinct was influenced by geography. Even local trade is dependent upon communications, and where intercourse was easy, as in the Dusun country on the north-western side of the great dividing range, trade developed and flourished, while in Murut land, on the south-eastern watershed, where the mountainous nature of the country made intercourse difficult, the pagan communities remained self-supporting and self-sufficing.

The Dusuns, therefore, have always been greater traders than the Muruts. The instinct was inculcated by the Chinese, and after the Mohammedan invaders settled along the coasts there came a time when both sides realized that a state of armed hostility was one of acute discomfort. A period of watchful and suspicious intercourse mellowed, as the years went by, into relations of a more or less amicable nature, and each side became glad to barter some of the necessities of life it produced for the commodities it lacked. If the foreigners brought goods

which the Dusuns wanted, and were willing to accept the barter they had to offer, the Dusuns had no objection to meeting them on the field of commerce. Trickery or treachery could be avenged not merely by the victim's family but by the group to which he belonged; for, unlike the Muruts, the Dusuns had an embryo spirit of nationality which taught them that there was a moral, and if necessary a physical, force behind them when the need arose.

The invading Moslems, however, were mariners to whom land travel was a foreign habit, and they visited only those parts of the country which they could penetrate with their boats. They could not reach the hills of the interior, and the people of those hills did not come to them. For the Muruts to establish contact with the Mohammedans involved, not an easy passage through a succession of friendly villages, but a perilous journey down rivers with all the dangers of floods and rapids, and without the sense of security that their line of retreat would lead them back on to the support of friends. In their hill villages each Murut community led an existence detached even from its neighbours, and this detachment was often accentuated into definite hostility which found expression in the time-honoured pursuit of headhunting raids. Among the true headhunters there is none of the chivalrous feeling that dog should not eat dog, and the Murut had little incentive to set off on a long and arduous journey when he knew full well that every hill-top he passed was the eyrie of a band of truculent warriors who would not hesitate to take advantage of his disasters or to catch him off his guard.

So that although the jungle teemed with all the products for which commerce was calling, the Murut had little reason to gather them or barter them for articles he had not learnt to need. In the surrounding jungle were the materials to satisfy his ascetic tastes: there for the taking. Even salt could be obtained from one of the many salt springs that were scattered about the hills. There was no incentive to enterprise, and the odds were against any man who dared to venture far afield.

It was not until the coming of the Chartered Company that conditions changed in the districts remote from the coast. Little by little the country came to be explored. District Officers pushed up the rivers, penetrated to those hill fastnesses where no white man had been before them. In their wake followed the Chinese trader. He was a pioneer no less than the white explorer. He braved the same flooded rivers, shot the



Photo

MARUDU DUSUNS ON WATER BUFFALOES

Dorothy Ritter

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same perilous rapids, trod the same jungle paths that led over those everlasting hills, taking with him his shoddy stock-in-trade. He went at his own risk, for in a country so unsettled no Government could promise him protection. Alone, and many days from any settlement, he would open a store, often at the junction of two rivers, and begin to trade; and if he suffered hardship and privation, he reaped a harvest in the jungle produce the Muruts brought to him once they had learnt to appreciate the iron, cloth and cheap haberdashery he had to offer them in exchange. Often he would take a Murut wife, a move which, besides any solace it may have brought him, usually had good business results, for the trade of the woman's village passed assuredly into his hands at no little profit to himself.

Once created, the demand for such simple luxuries as the Chinese trader could provide led to an increased collection of jungle produce. As Government stations were established in the remoter districts, Chinese shops arose beside them, and the station became the trading centre of the area in which it stood. The Chinese had their goods brought up by carrier or by boat, while the Muruts made long journeys from the hills with their produce on their backs. In this way administration and trade went hand in hand. It was the District Officer who settled the long-standing headhunting feuds and made the district possible for peaceful trade, but it was the Chinese trader and his wares that induced the shy Muruts to take long journeys and so mix with their fellows in other villages, and to visit the Government stations from time to time, until gradually they felt the influence of a benevolent administration. And although personal gain was the impulse that drove the Chinese trader so far from the society of his own kind and such comforts as he knew, the spirit which animated him was surely that which animated our own merchant adventurers of an older day and sent them out into the far places of the world. It must not be forgotten that it was largely due to these men (who, unlike many of the itinerant Arab merchants, came always as men of peace), that the reserve, suspicion and even hostility which for centuries had existed in the Murut hills, came to be broken down.

§ 2

Murut Trade. In the primitive Murut communities jungle produce is still the chief article for barter with the outside world. A description of this jungle produce and its method of collection,

which is entirely in the hands of the men, has been given already. The principal article is resin gum (*damar*), though wild rubber, gutta-percha, beeswax and rattans are also traded; also the skin of the scaly ant-eater, and rhinoceros horns and argus pheasant feathers. The Chinese traders are still the buyers, the produce being packed in baskets and carried down to the nearest trading centre, where it is exchanged for cloth, iron implements, matches, tobacco, buttons, beads, cheap looking-glasses and a variety of other articles that have been brought up to tempt the unsophisticated Murut. For foodstuff, except tins of fruit or biscuits, there is little demand, and not much for liquor, though a bottle of 'square-face' gin may occasionally change hands. Money does not play a great part in these transactions and goods are nearly always taken in exchange for goods, thus ensuring a double profit for the Chinese merchants who, nevertheless, treat their native customers fairly according to their lights. In this they differ from the so-called Arab traders who ascend the Sibuku River and cross the Dutch Border into North Borneo. These gentry have caused no little trouble in the past, for, with a line of retreat over the Border, they have often been able to cheat and to evade taking out a licence with which Government requires every buyer of jungle produce to provide himself.

Nowadays the Muruts recognize the Government currency and they are paid in it when they render service as carriers or on bridle-path work. But neither they nor the Dusuns have any currency in the shape of beads or shells, nor have they any measures or weights of their own, but have come to understand the Malay *depa* (fathom), the *kati* ($1\frac{1}{2}$ lb.) and the *pikul* (133 lb.). They have a system of keeping accounts by means of *tembuku*, the knotted rattan tallies already referred to. For example, if a man agrees to deliver fifteen loads of rattan against the payment of an advance he will hand his creditor a *tembuku* with fifteen knots in it.

§ 3

Dusun Trade. Among the Dusuns, especially the well-to-do Dusuns of the coast, trade plays a much more important part than among the Muruts. To begin with, the Dusuns have many more commodities to offer for trade than merely jungle produce, which, in many parts of the Dusun country, is becoming worked out. The hill tobacco grown by the Kiau, Ranau and Tambunan Dusuns is prized by the Chinese traders and the coast natives alike; rice, coconuts and fruit, fowls and buffaloes



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Photo by courtesy of

TAKING DRIED FISH BACK TO THE HILLS

H. W. L. Bunbury

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are articles of every-day trade, as well as the hats and carrying-baskets that are the products of many Dusun villages.

In Dusun country trade is not confined to barter. When dealing with the Chinese as often as not the Dusun will sell his goods for cash and pay cash for what he buys. In transactions with his fellows the barter system is still prevalent, but here the Dusun has evolved a definite table of relative values. For money, as money, he has little use, and if, say, he has made \$20 by selling tobacco to a Chinese he will usually invest the money in one of the recognized forms of native wealth, which are buffaloes, gongs, brass utensils, and jars.

Until quite recently Bajaus were not allowed up-country to trade without obtaining a special pass from the District Office. This was originally a benevolent injunction made for the protection of the unsophisticated pagan. Nowadays, however, the pagan, once the victim, has learnt from his master. His wits are just as sharp as the Bajau's and there are times when he scores off even the astute Chinese trader by introducing foreign bodies into his rolls of tobacco or balls of wild rubber. Such knavish practices, however, are not common, and as a rule the pagan can be trusted to carry out honourably his share of a bargain. It is worth noting that in at least one district (Tuaran) there is a local custom that if A and B make a deal and B backs out, B renders himself liable to pay A compensation, which varies in value from a goat to a buffalo.

In Witt's Diary there are some interesting notes on the value of salt as barter in the early eighties. It is usually supposed that salt is the great inducement for primitive man to trade with the outside world, but Witt, referring to the Marudu Dusuns, mentions (November 20, 1880) their indifference to salt. "A brine spring in the vicinity of Palin is scarcely ever resorted to, and they never give anything for salt brought to them from the coast."

This, however, is quite unusual, as Witt himself found, for later he says: "On the road to Nutuo there is a small spring of weak brine, which supplies the people with salt for many miles around; in fact, we found a number of Dusuns on the spot carrying off salt water in their bamboo receptacles. They mix the brine as it is with their dishes, without resorting to evaporation." But in districts where there were no convenient salt springs, the inhabitants were driven to procure it from the coast Bajaus, and Witt states (March 16, 1882) that on the Bongawan River on the west coast, "the chief article of barter is salt, which here fetches one and one-tenth of its weight in

gutta-percha. . . . This proportion increases rapidly. Only one day's journey further inland salt is bartered for one-half its weight of gutta-percha, at three days, for an equal weight of gutta-percha, and in the Labao country, through which the Melias branch of the Kinabatangan flows, the inhabitants crave so for salt that they give three times its weight in the best gutta-percha for it. One can buy salt at Labuan for 70 cents per picul, and sell medium gutta-percha for 70 dollars." That meant a gross profit of over \$200 on every sack of salt the trader cared to take up to the Labao country.

§ 4

Markets. The intercourse between Bajau and Dusun and the innate trading propensities of both have led, on the west coast, to the evolution of native markets (*tamu*), which probably date from the days when intercourse was beginning between the Mohammedan settlers along the coast and the Dusuns who inhabited the plains and coastal ranges. In those troublous times market-day would have been a definite armistice period when either side brought to a well-recognized spot the goods it had to barter.

At the present time the largest of these *tamu* are held in the Tuaran and Tempasuk districts. Twenty years ago there was a large market at a spot a few hours by boat up the Papar River, and markets are still held at Enabong, on the Putatan River, and at Menggatal and Inanam, but the close proximity of Jesselton, a few hours' march away, is affecting the attendance, and now that a road runs from Tuaran to Jesselton it is probable that a few years will see the end of the markets held in the neighbourhood of the Tuaran station. At present there are three such markets: Tamu Opis, so-called because it is held (every seven days) at the back of the Tuaran Office; Tamu Berungis, two miles away towards the sea; and Tamu Pampang, on the banks of the Tuaran River, half-way between the coast and the nearer hills.

In the Tempasuk district, Tamu Timbang is held once a week in the neighbourhood of Kota Belud. The largest market in the country is, however, Tamu Darat, which is held every twenty days on a site on the left bank of the Tempasuk River, two hours' ride from Kota Belud. A smaller market, Tamu Sisip, is held every ten days at the same spot. North of the Tempasuk district the *tamu* habit does not seem to thrive; it is almost unknown in the Marudu district and efforts made



READY FOR MARKET



Photos

ON THE MARKET GROUND

Man Sing

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some years ago to vitalize a *tamu* that had once been held in the neighbourhood of Timbang Batu, the old site of the Government station, met with no success. To-day there are no *tamu* in Murut country, but Mr. Lease informs me that at one time they were very common at Galumbong, in the interior, and at such places groups at feud could meet without trouble, the *tamu* being, as it were, sacred ground.

The rattan *tembuku* serves the Dusun as the remembrancer of *tamu* day. If, say, he regularly attends Tamu Darat he ties ten knots in a *tembuku* on returning home after market, and unties one every day: when only one knot remains he knows that to-morrow will be *tamu* day.

The *tamu* are organized entirely by the natives themselves, although now they are supervised by Government. At Tamu Darat the attendance often numbers several hundreds. In the morning the *tamu* ground, a cleared space beside the river, presents an animated scene. There are Bajaus in brightly-coloured head-cloths, Illanuns in embroidered coats and tight trousers of mauve or green or pink. They have brought up from the coast sacks of dried fish, oysters, ducks' eggs, fowls, sugar-cane, bracelets of white *kirai* shell, and salt. The ponies, buffaloes and cows on which they have ridden are tethered in the shade near by. In the palm-leaf shelters at the side of the ground the Chinese traders from Kota Belud have spread out their wares to tempt the up-country folk: bales of muslin and cloth, cotton thread, matches, sweetmeats, coats, beads and cheap jewellery. The lowland Dusuns are there, too, squatting round baskets filled with *padi* and *pinang*, or behind little heaps of coconuts, sugar-cane, *tarap* fruit and durians. Slightly apart, each village collected under a tree which long custom has ordained as its meeting-place, are the hill folk, their great baskets of *damar* or tobacco beside them. Long queues of them are still marching in, the women, each with a long staff, often carrying the heaviest loads, while great rafts of bundled rattan have been poled down from the hills. It is a wild scene in a very lovely setting: on one side the pebbly Tempasuk, on the other the open plain broken by clumps of bamboo, and in the background the jungle-covered hills that rise towards Kinabalu. Were it not for the white suit of a young blood on leave from a rubber estate, and a couple of police in khaki uniform, it might be Borneo a century ago.

Everyone comes to the *tamu* in good time: many have arrived the previous night. But no one begins to trade until the native chief hauls his flag up the improvised flagstaff which

stands in the centre of the ground. This is the awaited signal. The expectant constraint vanishes. The murmur of conversation swells to clamour. There is a rush, a babel of high-pitched voices, and the clink of coin, as everyone hastens to buy or sell. It is an excited, yet orderly gathering, at which weapons and personal grievances have been laid aside. The *tamu* is seldom disconcerted by a brawl and it is an unwritten law that no one shall be arrested while he is on that privileged ground.

There is one *tamu*, and one alone, to which Bajaus and Chinese seldom penetrate even now. This is Tamu Geruntong, held every thirty days on the Koriyau River, a tributary of the upper Tuaran. Here there is no Government supervision save that of the local headman, but the market forms a kind of clearing-ground for goods which those who have lately visited the coast have brought back and are willing to barter again for tobacco and other products of the hills.

It will easily be understood that these markets are excellent institutions and that they deserve all the encouragement Government can give them. They form not only a very healthy stimulus to trade, but also encourage natives from villages many days' march apart to rub shoulders with each other in friendly commerce. The *tamu* breaks down the suspicion and mistrust that isolation breeds and, besides being an incentive to enterprise and industry, fosters the healthy spirit of nationality and welds scattered communities into a union of friendship and goodwill.

CHAPTER IX

PAGAN LAW

§ 1

WHEN the Chartered Company assumed responsibility for the government of North Borneo, it found in being a body of customs and common law, receiving binding force from immemorial usage, by which the headman of each village administered justice. This common law was based on principles which, considering the primitive condition of the people who had evolved them, were surprisingly sound, and the penalties it exacted were, for the most part, certainly more humane than those prescribed by our own common law up to two centuries ago, when the sentence of death was still awarded for theft, and when more heinous offences were punishable by drawing and quartering.

The closer study one gives to this native law, the more one realizes how the pagans, whom so many Europeans regard contemptuously as 'savages,' are entitled to respect. The sympathetic investigator who is sufficiently broad-minded to set aside the conventional standards of ethics and morality to which he himself has grown accustomed, and to examine native customs not by his own standards, but having in mind local conditions and judging them purely from the angle of equity and common-sense, may well view with amazement the elaborate and equitable body of law which these primitive peoples, with no writing, no learning, no past civilization, have built up. These fundamental principles of pagan justice are not at variance with our own, and it is interesting to note that in North Borneo married women obtained the right of holding property and equal rights of divorce with men, centuries before the women of Great Britain obtained theirs.

The native common law varied in the details of its application in the different districts of the country, just as traditional and customary law in England varied in different counties up to recent times; but these variations were, and still are, not fundamental but only a matter of degree.

The law falls into three main headings: Offences against the person, offences against property and offences against the community. In the first group the correct relationship between the sexes is very clearly defined; strict observance of this relationship is demanded and breaches of observance are punished, often severely. English common law has never taken cognizance of offences simply on the grounds that they are immoral; adultery, for example, has never been a criminal offence in England, either at common law or by statute; but in North Borneo it is held so to be, and in olden days the penalty was death, which in certain districts took the form of placing the guilty parties on the ground face to face and driving a stake through them. This offence was, in fact, next to incest, regarded as the most serious in the pagan calendar, and custom allowed an injured husband who caught his wife in her lover's arms to kill both.

The death sentence for adultery was one of the few which the Chartered Company found it necessary to revise when the native laws came to be examined. The Company always promised to respect the natives' customs and observances, and to this promise it has faithfully adhered; from the day it took over the government of the country, the native courts have been recognized and, composed usually of not less than three recognized chiefs, still sit periodically in each district to try minor offences and those relating purely to native custom and sexual relationship. Subject to the restrictions mentioned above, they may impose any penalty prescribed by custom (*adat*), and in adultery cases this may extend to a fine of \$100 or a year's rigorous imprisonment in lieu of payment. These courts, unhampered by legal technicalities, administer justice according to the spirit, not the letter, of the law; their judgments are almost invariably sound and dictated by common-sense, and although an appeal lies to the District Officer, the Resident and, finally, to the Governor,¹ the decisions of the court of first instance are usually accepted.

For the guidance of District Officers, the Government of North Borneo felt that the laws relating to native custom should be codified; and with this object in view District Officers were instructed some years ago to draw up a list of offences and punishments in their own districts. This was done, the amount and accuracy of the information given depending naturally on the thoroughness and efficiency of the officer

¹ That is, through the administrative, not the judicial branch of the Service.

concerned. So far, unfortunately, no opportunity has been found for codifying these details, but the Government has courteously placed at my disposal this docket, which, embracing the pagans of every district and sub-district in the territory and coming from the best available sources, namely the District Officers in consultation with their chiefs, contains more detailed information than one man could have amassed personally, and so is invaluable for the purpose of this book.

Having been entrusted with this information, I have done my best to do what the Government has as yet not had the opportunity to do, namely to codify the laws according to tribes and districts, giving in every instance the groups among which the laws and penalties are in force. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. G. C. Woolley, for several years Resident of the Interior, for allowing me to use some notes made by him on Murut custom. By the light of my own knowledge and investigations I have checked, so far as possible, the information collected by the District Officers, and in some instances have been able to amplify and supplement it; and I have done my best to test doubtful information by personal inquiry.

Following the principle adopted throughout this book, I have taken the Rundum Murut as the prototype, stated the offence and its punishment and pointed out the more important variations in other parts of the country.¹ These variations, though often not fundamental, are nevertheless numerous and show the impossibility of attempting to generalize. They also show, in my opinion, the difficulty of preparing a code of native law that would be acceptable to every group and district, each variation or exception to a general rule being honoured by immemorial usage.

§ 2

Unnatural Offences. It may be said at once that unnatural offences appear to be unknown and no penalties are prescribed for them.

Unchastity. The general relations between the sexes are strictly regulated by native law and custom.² Among almost all the pagan tribes the standard of conjugal fidelity is high,

¹ The reader is asked to refer to the ethnographical map and the table of pagan groups on p. 34 *et seq.*

² Strictly speaking, the difference between a law and a custom is that a law is a rule of which a judicial court takes cognizance, punishing its infraction, while a custom is a rule which is accepted by public opinion, which punishes in its own manner those who disobey it.

but more regard is paid to chastity after marriage than before it. Before betrothal, young girls are usually allowed complete freedom, and in most districts their surrender to lovers is treated leniently, though if a girl becomes pregnant, her lover is expected to marry her, and usually does.

The Rundum Muruts do not consider unchastity before marriage an offence, so long as the parents of the girl agree to condone, the man giving the girl's mother a string of beads from his neck or some other small present. Among the Temoguns of the Tenom and lower Padas districts no notice is taken of such an occurrence unless it is actually witnessed by the girl's parents or relatives, when the man and the girl are required to pay compensation of \$10 each.¹ If the girl becomes pregnant, the man must pay \$100, which goes to the girl's parents, but if he marries her he escapes with a penalty of half that amount.

In Keningau and Tambunan, if the act takes place in the girl's house, without the consent of the parents, the man pays \$15, which goes to the parents; but if it happens elsewhere, even in the house of the man, and the girl is a consenting party, there is no penalty and no cause for action. If a child is born and the man refuses to marry the girl, he must pay her \$30 and must give her an allowance if he wishes to claim the child subsequently. If he marries the girl he incurs no penalty. No action lies if the girl is known to be of immoral character and no order is made as regards the child.

In Tawau the man pays 15 *ketas*² to the girl's parents or betrothed; on the Kinabatangan (Tengara group) he is fined seven *munoh*.² The Kolor custom is for the man to 'offer himself' to the girl's parents and to pay them a gong (*tawak*) and a jar. In default of this payment both parties must pay \$50. Among the Bol Muruts no notice is taken by the parents, and the man and girl are expected to settle matters between themselves.

In the Ranau district we find the girl being fined \$1, which is an unusual variation of the general rule that the man pays; if a child is born, the man must, as usual, marry the girl, and

¹ This is the Straits Settlements dollar, value 2/4, \$25 being equal roughly to £3. Formerly such compensation was paid in kind and, to a considerable extent, is still, the cash amount mentioned indicating the value of the goods.

² The meaning of *ketas* and *munoh* is article, item. Here the essence of all payments, whether as bride-price or as penalties for offences, appears to be not so much in the intrinsic value of the goods as in the actual number of them. For instance, the 15 *ketas* or 15 *munoh* might theoretically be 15 gongs or 15 rows of beads, according to the means of the man.



Photo by courtesy of

RUNDUM MURUTS

A group taken during the Dutch Boundary Expedition, 1912-13.

H. H. L. Bindbury



each party pays *sagit*¹ to the other's relatives. At Papar there is no penalty for either party, unless the girl is betrothed to another man.²

In the upper Tuaran, if the man refuses to marry the girl he must pay \$1 compensation to her parents, the reason for this mild penalty being the fact that parents are expected to restrain their unmarried children from wandering about at night. At Tenggilan, if the girl refuses to marry the man, he must pay one cow buffalo to her parents, otherwise no penalty is exacted. In the Tempasuk district, if the man does not marry the girl, he is fined amounts varying from \$1 at Kiau, and in middle Tempasuk, to a cow or a cow buffalo at Bongkahak and on the Tempasuk Plain. The girl suffers no penalty except in the middle Tempasuk, where she is fined one fowl.

In the Marudu district a fine of \$2 and a fowl may be demanded by the owner of the house in which the act takes place; in Kudat the man must pay \$50 if he refuses to marry the girl.

In the Labuk and Sugut districts the offence is punishable only when the parties are not betrothed. Among the Tambunwa it is customary for the man to pay three fowls to the village as *sagit* and the girl two; while he pays to the parents three pieces of brass (*gadur*) and two brass trays, which are placed to his credit, when computing the bride-price, if he marries the girl. Among the Rungus Dusuns the man must marry the girl and pay one gong to the parents. In the Lahad Datu district no offence is committed so long as marriage takes place; but, if the man refuses, he must pay the girl's relatives one brass cannon, \$20 in value. If the girl refuses, her lover pays \$10, which goes to the parents; if both refuse, the penalty is only \$5.

Illegitimacy. Children born out of wedlock are rare among the pagans, for as soon as an unmarried girl is found to be pregnant her seducer is called upon to marry her and, as we have seen, usually does so.

Among the Rundum Muruts the father of an illegitimate child must marry the mother, and if the mother subsequently

¹ This word, not apparently of Malay origin but common to all Dusun and Murut dialects, defies translation. It is something between a fine and compensation, and may be defined as customary or traditional payment, in goods or money, as acknowledgment of a transgression, paid to the aggrieved party, which may be an individual, or, in the case of an offence against public morals, the community. The fact that *sagit* is almost invariably edible may be derived from an original idea (now lost) of sacrifice to the deity or spirits and they having savoured the offering, the villagers, relatives, or injured party eat the rest.

² See p. 154.

obtains a divorce on good grounds she is entitled to keep the whole of the bride-price and the children.

Such marriage is held to legitimize a child, but in the Kudat district such a child would have only the rights of inheritance of an adopted child.

At Keningau, if the father dies before marrying the mother, the illegitimate child has no claim on his estate, but only upon its mother's.

At Tenom, if an unmarried woman has a child and marries B, who is not the father, B must acknowledge the child as his own, but a subsequent child of the marriage will take precedence. If a married man has an illegitimate child by a married woman, he is entitled to take the child into his family on payment of \$50. The child would then rank as adopted.¹

In Tambunan the mother of an illegitimate child pays the village *sagit* of a pig and a fowl. Formerly, fearing the disgrace she would bring upon herself by giving birth to a child while she was still unmarried, the mother would cause a miscarriage or strangle the baby at birth. If she were discovered, she would be called upon to pay the *sagit* but would incur no further penalty. Here the illegitimate child has no rights in the share of any property with its half-brothers or sisters born to its mother in marriage with another man.

In Papar the illegitimate child does not lose its right of inheriting through its mother, but if the mother marries a man other than her seducer, then the illegitimate child would rank after any children subsequently born.

In the Ranau district, if the father refuses to marry the woman he pays a penalty—which may vary from \$50 at Bundu Tuhan to \$3 at Tempias. If the woman refuses to give the father's name she must pay *sagit* to the village. In olden times an illegitimate child would be killed at birth, and this custom has been noted also among the Rungus and the Tambunwa.

The Marudu Dusuns also regard illegitimacy with great horror. Formerly it was the custom to kill the child and hang it up on a tree in the jungle, the spot then being held accursed. The mother would be required to pay *sagit*.

A similar custom prevails in the Tempasuk district, where, however, illegitimate children are so very rarely born that the term is hardly understood; since, even if a man refuses to marry a girl who is going to have a child by him, he is called upon to provide her full bride-price and this is held to legitimize the child. If, however, the mother refuses or is unable to give the

¹ For Adoption, see p. 169 *et seq.*

father's name (this happens very rarely) she is regarded as beyond the pale, and among the Kiau group has to leave the village and all her property becomes forfeit. If the child dies, she must pay *sagit* of three pigs and only then may return. Elsewhere in the district, custom is not so hard upon the unmarried mother, but she is fined a fowl every time her child joins in a game with the other village children. If the child dies it must be buried in a tree. The tree then becomes haunted by a ghost known as *sesidut*, which, if disturbed, is said to "affect the disturber's issue."

§ 3

Incest. Among all the pagans, without exception, incest is regarded with the utmost horror. It is the most serious crime in the native law and formerly the penalty was almost invariably death. Even now, any plagues, flood, drought or famine is ascribed to some undetected act of incest.

In olden days the Rundum Muruts were in the habit of taking the heads of both the male and female, and would fling the bodies into the river; the Temoguns buried the guilty parties in the same grave. At Tawau they were taken upstream from the village and killed in the river, so that their blood might flow past the village and wash away the effects of their crime. The Rungus put them into wicker cages and drowned them in the sea. Among the Tengaras the blood of the guilty ones was sprinkled about the village.

The horror of incest is almost universal in all societies, primitive or civilized, and is undoubtedly of great antiquity. As to its probable origin, authorities are fairly well agreed, I think: in the earliest stages of human society the family was the unit, ruled by the father who, as his daughters matured, would select them as extra wives, giving away or bartering the rest with neighbours. The boys as they grew up and became the father's rivals would be driven out of the family, until, when the head of the family became old and feeble, one son would kill him and take over the wives and family himself. As society developed and evolved the early legislators (at first medicine-men and priests) set themselves to minimize these terrible conflicts by prohibiting marriage between father and daughter, and mother and son, so that during the course of centuries a feeling of horror at even the idea of incest was created in the mind of men.¹

¹ See D. N. Barbour's *Psycho-Analysis and Everyman*, p. 83.



the village and on payment of *sagit* in cattle, in proportion to the propinquity.

Strictest of all is the law among the Rundum Muruts, who will not permit marriage so long as there exists any remembrance of blood relationship between a man and a woman. Mr. Bunbury states that the Temoguns allow first cousins to marry, but that illicit sexual relations would be regarded as incestuous; my own information is that first cousins are debarred from marrying. At Tawau, on the other hand, first cousins may marry, but a girl must be bathed in the blood of a fowl and must pay a coil of wire and one gong as *sagit* to the village.

In Tambunan the former penalty for incest between parent and child was seven fowls and seven pigs—this was before buffaloes were known in the district and must have been many years before the coming of the Chartered Company. The fowls and pigs were killed and eaten in the village. Both guilty parties were driven from the village and forbidden to return on pain of death and their property was plundered. Nowadays the male offender is fined \$80, the female \$40, or six and three months' imprisonment respectively, half the fine going to Government and half to the village to buy a buffalo and pigs for a feast to wipe out the disgrace and to appease the rice spirit. The same penalties apply to incest between uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, brother and sister. Formerly expulsion from the village was not insisted on for these offences, but the *sagit* remained the same. In this district marriage even between third cousins was considered more serious than incest of the fourth and fifth degree, as tabulated, but there are now no penalties in force for intercourse between first, second and third cousins, as such cases are said to be unknown. Should they occur the fines would be proportionate to those already mentioned. For an offence between a parent and adopted child, or between a brother with adopted sister, each party would pay *sagit* of one buffalo and one pig to the aggrieved husband or wife in the first case, and to the parents in the second.

Among the pagans of the headwaters of the Labuk and Sugut (Ranau group) marriage between first cousins is apparently permissible. Among the Marudu Dusuns marriage of first, second and third cousins is still forbidden; even with the marriage of fourth cousins a buffalo must be killed to sever relationship and two pigs paid to the village as *sagit*. On the other hand, a man may marry his deceased wife's sister or a woman her deceased husband's brother. In the neighbouring district of Kudat, however, the Rungus allow first cousins to

marry, but they must pay substantial *sagit* to the village. Among the Rungus, too, curiously, incest between brother and sister is apparently not regarded so seriously as elsewhere and the offence may be expiated by paying *sagit* of two pigs and giving a feast.

At Papar the eight impediments given above apply, and persons of the same generation, even within the fourth degree of relationship, may not marry without the payment of *sagit*.

In Tuaran, if A has sexual relations with B, his first cousin, and B becomes pregnant, both A and B must pay one buffalo to the village for purification and a fine of \$50 or four months' imprisonment. The penalty for incest between parent and child or uncle and niece is the same *sagit* and a fine of \$100. In the upper Tuaran district, whether B becomes pregnant or not, both A and B must pay seven pigs and one cow to the village, in addition to a fine, which is as heavy as the penalty exacted for incest between brother and sister. Cousins, other than first cousins, however, may marry.

In the Tempasuk district we find definite prohibition of parents-in-law having sexual relations with children-in-law. The offence is, however, so rare that no penalty is provided for it except in Bongkahak, lower Tempasuk and Pindassan, where the male must pay a gong (*tawak*) and a pig, and the woman a buffalo, a cow and a pig, the male suffering expulsion from the village. At Kiau the offence is now unknown, but the former penalty was death.

The degrees of incest in the Tempasuk district in order of importance are :

1. Parent with child.
2. Parent-in-law with child-in-law.
3. Brother and sister.
4. First cousins.
5. Second cousins.
6. Step-brethren.

In mid-Tempasuk the offence between cousins is expiated by payment of a cow and a pig on the man's part and one yearling heifer and a pig on the woman's. Similar penalties are found elsewhere in the district except at Kiau, where, for incest between first cousins, *sagit* of seven pigs and seven chickens must be paid by the man. If the woman becomes pregnant she must pay one cow, one pig and two fowls and in addition a cow buffalo, a pig and a fowl, when the child is born.

Marriage between the guilty parties is forbidden. Marriage is, however, allowed between second and third cousins, but penalties of a cow, a pig and a jar, and a cow and a fowl must be paid respectively. Here the offence between brother and sister is regarded very seriously and seven fowls, seven pigs, seven cows, and seven buffaloes must be paid. If the woman becomes pregnant she must live out of the village and on the birth of the child pay an additional pig and fowl.

In the Labuk and Sugut districts relations between parents-in-law and children-in-law are prohibited, but the offence is not regarded so seriously as between parents with children or between brothers and sisters, and ranks with incest between step-brethren and between cousins.

Among the Tambunwa the penalty for incest of parent with child and brother with sister is ten gongs (*tarwak*) each, divided amongst the village, together with thirty fowls to the villages downstream and one large pig to the villages upstream, the male offender being sentenced to live at least one day's journey from the village in which the offence was committed. Here marriage between first cousins, and in some cases, second cousins, is prohibited and the penalty for such intercourse is thirty fowls and six gongs, the male offender being required to live in another village.

§ 4

Betrothal. Subject to the pagan table of affinity, throughout the country young people are allowed complete freedom in their choice of a partner, and I have found no instance of custom permitting parents to compel either a son to marry a suggested wife or a daughter to accept an eligible suitor.

On the other hand parents, or other relatives, may make the first advances and even preliminary arrangements, counting on them meeting with their children's approval. Such family proposals may begin even before a child is born. This is so in the Rundum district, where as soon as a man learns that his wife is going to have a baby he may begin to think of its future partner in life. To this end he looks for another woman (of an unrelated family) who is also pregnant, consults her husband and, if negotiations go smoothly, it is arranged that the two children shall be betrothed when born.¹ This custom is known as *ber-sambila* and has some relation to the custom of adopted brotherhood (*akun sudara*). Custom demands that A, having

¹ According to Mr. G. C. Woolley, negotiations may be begun before either wife is pregnant.

introduced the subject to B, shall give a small present, such as ten strings of beads or a gong, on the conclusion of the arrangements, B reciprocating with a little unhusked rice or a pig. It is assumed that A will have a son, B a daughter. If the two children turn out to be of the same sex, the onus is on B, who has accepted the proposal, to provide a substitute.

According to Mr. Woolley, should A have a daughter and B a son, it is optional for B to allow the betrothal or to wait. If he agrees to the betrothal, he returns the advance present and adds the usual betrothal gifts; if he decides to wait, the advance stands over till more children arrive. If both children are girls, A may offer to substitute the male child of a near relative; if both are boys B may offer to substitute a relative's daughter. Or, in either case, they may agree to wait till next time, and meanwhile they *akun sudara* to each other.¹

If the betrothal fails, owing to the death of one of the children, the parents may offer another son or daughter or a near relation as a substitute, and, if accepted, the betrothal goes on. Otherwise, the presents are returned and the expenses of the feast at the betrothal are divided equally.

The interchange of presents between the two families continues until the children are old enough to walk, A always giving goods, and B returning them with food. As they grow up, the two children are brought together as much as possible, usually in the rice-clearings, and the idea of marriage is slowly suggested to them. Should the boy feel no affection for the girl, the betrothal is broken off and no gifts are returned, but should the girl show a disinclination to marry the boy, all the gifts given by the boy's father must be returned.

This mode of pre-natal match-making is unusual, although in the Tawau district betrothal may take place at birth and infant alliances, subject to cancellation, are sometimes arranged among the Marudu and the Tuaran Dusuns. Even in the Rundum district, however, it is more customary for parents to wait until their son is approaching a marriageable age, and then to look about for a suitable girl. The boy is told the name of the girl who has been selected and, provided that he does not dislike the idea of making her his wife, he visits her house. Unless forbidden by her father, or unless the girl herself objects, he spends one night with her, presenting her on the following day with a string of beads from his neck. This, if accepted, is considered to be the sign of betrothal.

¹ i.e. swear brotherhood, which, however, does not rank as relationship within the law of incest.

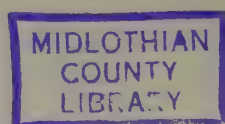


Photo

Man Sūng

INLAND DUSUN GIRLS

Showing the method of keeping the breast-cloth in place. This is removed after the first child has been born.



The usual betrothal gifts to the girl's parents are goods up to about \$30 in value, a coat, a skirt, a gong, a small jar and a blowpipe. If these are accepted, a second visit may be paid a little later, in ten days or so, when further gifts are taken, e.g. an old jar, worth up to \$150, but this will rank as part of the bride-price (*brian*). The girl's father indicates to his prospective son-in-law the amount of *brian* he expects, the parents of both parties meeting later to make final arrangements for the wedding.

Among the Temoguns, the boy himself makes his choice, negotiations being conducted by his parents, while in Keningau a relative of the boy approaches a relative of the girl and the betrothal token is given on an agreement being reached; but here and in most other districts, freedom of sexual intercourse before betrothal is not openly countenanced as it is among the Rundum Muruts, and also among the Dusuns of the upper Sugut (Ranau group), though it may be supposed that it is winked at, particularly among the Murut groups.

According to Mr. F. W. Fraser, in Keningau the parties agree upon a date when the girl may be taken to her future father-in-law's house, and if when there she begins a mat, the bride-price is paid; when the mat is finished the marriage is consummated. If she does not make the mat, the arrangements are cancelled.

Among the Tawau Muruts the betrothal takes place in the presence of the elders of the village, the token being either a ring or a waistbelt of red rattan.

The Dusun custom follows closely that of the Muruts. In Tambunan a relative of the boy approaches a relative of the girl, taking a small present, having first ascertained that the girl is not already affianced. If the girl rejects the offer the present is returned at once; but her acceptance signifies her willingness to marry the boy.

Among the Ranau Dusuns the boy's relative approaches the girl direct. The token is a wire bracelet which is hung up near the roof. In the Marudu district the token is a coat or skirt.

In the Papar district the token usually takes the form of tobacco or betel-nut. Here, to avoid giving offence, it must be retained for some days, but must be returned by the seventh day unless it is to be accepted. If there is sickness or disease in the girl's village, to return the token forthwith is an offence, for which remedy may be sought by legal action. Once the token has been accepted, the boy, accompanied by his father, pays a visit to the girl's house to inquire after her dreams, to which

considerable importance is attached by all the tribes.¹ If these are considered to have been favourable a further token, such as a piece of brassware, is given, terms of the bride-price being discussed on a subsequent visit. If, however, she has had bad dreams—has dreamt of a burning house, for instance, or that she has fallen from a tree or slipped off a log, the omens are considered unfavourable, and the token is returned.

Importance is also paid to the girl's dreams in the Kiau district, where, if either party has dreams that are considered unpropitious, the marriage may be postponed five months, and may take place only if there is no recurrence.

Curiously, in the mid-Tempasuk district, where selection is by personal choice, no token is given, but the betrothal must extend to a minimum period of five days. In the neighbouring districts, such as Bongkahak, lower Tempasuk and Pindassan, the token is a ring with a knotted tally (*tembuku*) attached to it, indicating the amount of the bride-price. Here the minimum betrothal period varies: two days in Bongkahak, one month in lower Tempasuk and five days in Pindassan. In lower Tempasuk, if the marriage takes place before the stipulated period has elapsed, *sagit* of one cow must be paid.

Generally speaking, although no compulsion to marry is placed on the young people, marriage rarely takes place without the parents' consent. If a man takes a wife without the previous consent of her parents, the parents may (by Temogun custom) claim *sagit* up to \$10–\$15; by Peluan custom, they can demand only immediate payment of the minimum bride-price, or take back their daughter—the latter a course which in old days generally led to a murder and a feud.

Further exceptions to the rule may be noted: in Pindassan and in the middle and lower Tempasuk districts the parents' consent is not essential, but if the parties marry without consent *sagit* must be paid. In Pindassan this is a pig; in lower Tempasuk a betel-nut box and a yearling buffalo; in mid-Tempasuk a goat and a fowl.

The Bride-price. There is no exact English equivalent for the word *brian*.² It is sometimes loosely translated 'dowry,' but in fact has the exact opposite meaning, for whereas the dowry is money, goods or estate brought by a woman to her

¹ As Mr. C. D. Martyn observes, this custom is allied to the primitive idea—still obtaining among the Chinese—of deciding marriage by horoscopes and other divinations of true affinity.

² I use the form of spelling in common use in North Borneo. The more correct form is *bërian*.

husband in marriage, the *brian* is the portion given or promised by the bridegroom for (not to) his wife. The word is a specialized use of the Malay *pemberian*—‘gift’: a euphemism for ‘payment,’ the wife being paid for, and often bargained for, as though she were a buffalo or any other form of movable property; so that the accepted term bride-price is the best equivalent. The Murut word is *pangipusan*.

The amount of the *brian* is usually arranged by the parents of the contracting parties. It is usually provided by the parents and relatives of the male, and the girl’s parents usually retain it when paid, though at Tuaran it is paid to the bride’s brother and becomes his property.¹ A daughter, therefore, is a definite source of capital to her parents, while for the bridegroom the *brian* is really the payment for an investment, the interest on which is children.

The value of the *brian* is generally based on the accepted custom of the district. It is paid in kind and normally does not exceed \$80 in value, but this is often exceeded when the contracting parties come of families in which, owing to rank, *brian* has been traditionally high. Sometimes, especially among the Muruts, it will be found that the parties have flattered their self-importance by agreeing on rather fancy prices for the goods or articles given. Generally speaking, the *brian* of a widow or divorced woman is about half that of an unmarried girl.

Among the Rundum Muruts, Peluans, Tagals and kindred groups there is no fixed *brian* and continual payments are made from time to time by the woman’s husband to his parents-in-law so long as the marriage lasts. As Mr. Woolley observes, the European idea, “I have married my wife, but not her relatives,” does not apply amongst Muruts. It is, perhaps, a stretch of language to call this *brian*, though an account is kept of all such payments. The wife’s people lack something and go to the husband who, as a member of the family, is more or less bound to supply it if he can, e.g. a cloth, blowpipe, gong, and so on. The husband can refuse, if he cannot spare the article or thinks the applicant is too importunate: then he may offer something else. Custom, or a sense of shame, prevents excessive abuse of the system. There is, however, amongst these groups, a sort of initial *brian* which is agreed to be paid at the time of marriage: for wealthy people this might be one slave (nowadays, the equivalent in cash: say about \$200), and an old jar (*tajau*), in value about \$150; poor people would give a fairly

¹ Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 123.

old jar and one or two other articles, e.g. an inferior jar or a gong.

At Tenom the *brian* may vary between \$100 and \$500 in value. In the Tempasuk districts the usual *brian* is one large gong (*tawak*), one small gong, and three jars ; this is not payable in full until a child has been born. In the Marudu district the *brian* varies from two buffaloes (value \$50), to three gongs (value about \$6) ; the average being one buffalo. In the upper Labuk (Ranau group) it may be as much as \$300 in value, and must include ten kinds of jars and ten kinds of brass-ware.

At Tunku and Segama the *brian* for a girl of good family is one gong (value \$20), one cannon (\$25), gold earrings (\$20), silver bracelets (\$5), fifteen small silver buttons (\$10), two gold rings (\$3), two sarongs (\$4), thirteen fathoms of brass wire (\$3). Among poorer people the gong and the cannon may be dispensed with, but the remainder is essential.

Among the Tawau group the *brian* is reckoned by the number of goods paid—a peculiar custom ; the number being indicated by knots in a rattan tally. The number may be 200, but it is generally 80 ; and the article demanded varies from jars to handkerchiefs. The marriage may be celebrated when five or ten articles have been paid.

As a general rule no proportion of the *brian* belongs to the woman herself ; it is all paid to relatives, the father and relatives on his side taking twice or three times the amount that goes to the mother and relatives on her side. A distant relative is not barred by the existence of a nearer one ; even second cousins may put in a claim, and, if rejected, may appeal to the Native Court. The test applied is whether the claimant ever helped to support the bride with food, clothing, and so on. If the father's share of the *brian* is a single article, e.g. an old jar, the relative who puts in a claim does not become a joint owner of the jar, but is given some other article roughly equivalent in value to his share.

Should a man not have sufficient property to pay the major portion, or the initial *brian*, the wife's relatives may consider whether they will let her go, or after she has gone they may fetch her back again. Should the woman refuse to return, and insist on remaining with her husband, her relatives can do nothing but wait, though, should the woman require help later on, they would refuse assistance, on the ground that she, having disregarded her own people, had forfeited all claims upon them. The wife's relatives could have recourse to the

Native Court in a suit for *brian*, as soon as they think an attempt to enforce payment would be successful.

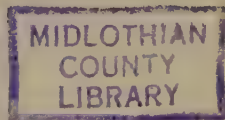
In most districts, if the bridegroom is unable to pay the amount he may borrow property from a friend and work for the lender until the loan has been repaid, a year's work representing \$100. This does not represent a year's continuous work, but one or two days a week, or work during a specially prolonged period, such as planting or harvest time. If the borrower dies before the debt is paid off, his children (and, at Tambunan, even his grandchildren) may have to give service until the debt is liquidated. If there are no children the death of the borrower liquidates the debt. This system is obviously a relic of the old debt-slavery. At Rundum, if the borrower breaks his contract, the marriage is considered annulled, the *brian* being returned to the lender and the mother being given the custody of any children of the marriage.

At Keningau the *brian* may not be paid until a distant date, but no wedding feast takes place until it has been paid in full, and Mr. Fraser mentions police asking for leave to get married when they were already fathers of families.

As a rule the whole of the *brian* is not expected to be forthcoming before marriage, but may remain a debt due from the husband to his father-in-law. At Tenom in olden days, if only part of the *brian* were paid on marriage and the promise to pay the balance were not kept, the girl's father might forcibly remove her pending a settlement.

At Keningau, however, a girl must usually receive the same *brian* as her mother received before her. The same rule is in force at Papar and here the marriage is not usually allowed to take place before the *brian* has been paid in full, though sometimes a guarantee by the bridegroom's friends is accepted in lieu of total payment. Here, pending payment of the *brian*, it is customary to hang the boy's sleeping-mat at the door of his betrothed's house. Once payment has been made the mat is taken down, and the marriage may be celebrated forthwith. But considerable importance is attached to the removal of the mat, and should anyone utter words of ill omen during the ceremony, he must pay *sagit* of one buffalo.

Mr. Woolley has noted the following observances among the Murut groups generally with regard to the disposal of *brian* after the death of a man or his wife. Should the husband die, his relatives cannot claim the return of the *brian* if there is a child of the marriage or if the marriage has lasted more than a year or so. If there is no child, or the marriage has lasted



less than a year, or the wife is not pregnant, then part of the *brian* may be recoverable. Any relevant circumstances would be considered in deciding how much should be refunded.

Similar action may be taken if the wife dies : her relatives may be called upon to refund part of the *brian* if she has died childless within about a year of the marriage. The principle here is, that a man has purchased a wife to be the mother of his children and not got full money's worth.

Dowry. In some districts a bride does receive from her parents a settlement, or dowry, in the true sense ; this is known as *bawahan* among the Muruts and *ampeh* among the Dusuns. The amount is usually fixed by the parents when the *brian* is discussed, but according to Mr. Woolley this is not so among the Rundum and neighbouring groups, among whom the amount is not fixed beforehand by any agreement : it may include the bride's own trousseau, household goods and utensils, and presents for her husband's people. After the bride's arrival at her husband's house she tells him what she has brought, and he decides what to do with the things, e.g. what to keep and what to give to relatives. The bride's people, knowing beforehand what the *brian* was to be, would doubtless be guided by a knowledge of what was fitting, or a sense of shame, in deciding the amount and nature of the *bawahan*, and the husband would be guided in a similar way in determining its disposal.

Although the *bawahan* is not fixed as to amount, it is carefully noted and remembered by both sides. In the event of a divorce, if the husband is at fault, the *bawahan* is recoverable by the wife ; if she is at fault, it is irrecoverable. In the event of the death of husband or wife, the *bawahan* by strict custom is irrecoverable, but if the relatives agree as a matter of mutual arrangement, a portion of the *bawahan*, up to half, may be returned.

Among the Bol Muruts, a bride would bring to the marriage an old jar, two smaller jars, two gongs (*tawak*), beads to the value of \$50 and cloth to the value of \$25 ; if, however, the parents were poor she would have to be content with the jars alone, while at Tambunan the *bawahan* is no more than the value of a half-grown buffalo—\$12.

The *bawahan* of a chief's daughter may be very high, but usually this is an offset to the heavy *brian* that has been demanded. For example, at Keningau formerly honour might require a chief to ask \$1000 as *brian* for his daughter, but he would give her \$900, so that the husband was really only \$100 out of

pocket. It is instructive to observe that snobbery exists among primitive tribes.

Among the Muruts the custom of *undok* is in force. *Undok* is something halfway between *brian* and *bawahan*; it is a return present equivalent in value to half or a third of the principal bride-price (*kepala brian*), and is usually one or two jars. It is not due on the lesser or subsidiary *brian* paid to the more distant relatives.

Breach of Promise. There are definite penalties prescribed for breach of promise to marry. At Rundum, when children who have been betrothed from infancy reach marriageable age, they can abide by their parents' arrangements or refuse. If the male refuses, all presents actually paid to the girl's people are irrecoverable, but her people cannot claim any unpaid portion of *brian*. If the girl refuses, the betrothal presents (*pertunangan*) and the amount of *brian* actually paid are all returned in full; the man's side may demand *sagit* up to \$10, and the girl's people cannot claim for any expenses (*blanja*). If the man or the girl refuses to complete the marriage, but offers a relative as a substitute, the matter is for mutual agreement by the parties concerned: there is no custom obliging them to accept such an exchange. If the man becomes engaged, or marries, elsewhere before the previous engagement is formally broken and the customary *sagit* paid, he must pay further *sagit* up to \$15, while if the girl is at fault, the first lover may claim *sagit* up to \$30 from his supplanter. Half these sums now go to Government.

At Tenom the penalty for breach by either side amounts to \$20 or \$30, but is demanded only if an alliance is contracted elsewhere; this fine is paid by the offender to the injured party. At Keningau the girl may break the engagement on payment of twice the value of any betrothal token, and one fowl in addition, unless the man is proved to have committed a sexual offence with another woman. If the man breaks the engagement he loses his token, unless his betrothed has herself been at fault with another man, when the token must be returned.

Among the Dusuns similar custom prevails. At Tambunan the engagement may be broken at any time by the girl returning the token and paying a fine of \$5 and *sagit* of a fowl. In the Tempasuk district there is, however, no penalty for a breach on either side, except in lower Tempasuk, where *sagit* of one cow must be paid. There is no penalty at Pindassan, but if the party who has broken the engagement becomes re-engaged

within a year, he or she must pay *sagit* of one buffalo, and the new betrothed one buffalo-calf. At Kiau this period is reduced to one month, the *sagit* being a cow, buffalo and a pig, paid by the defaulter, and a yearling buffalo and a pig payable by the new betrothed.

Among the Tambunwa there is no penalty for the man breaking his engagement save that he loses the betrothal token and any expenses to which he may have been put; but if the girl breaks her promise she must restore out-of-pocket expenses to her former lover and divide with him the *brian* obtained from the man she eventually marries.

At Papar the rule is more strict, and if the engagement is broken off by the man, such instalments of *brian* as he has paid are escheated. If nothing has been paid, he is called upon for *sagit*. If the girl withdraws, the amount of *brian* already paid is returned. But should a man commit a sexual offence with the betrothed of another, he must refund twice the value of the injured man's expenses, together with \$100 *sagit* if the offence occurs before the mat is taken down and \$200 if subsequently—that is, on the very eve of marriage. On the other hand, a marriage may be cancelled by a death, sickness or some other misfortune occurring in the family of either party. A meeting of relatives is called to decide upon the advisability of allowing the arrangement to be carried out, and if it is decided that, on account of the omens, the marriage should not take place, the betrothal is dissolved without loss to either side.¹

§ 5

Polygamy. Among the Dusuns of the Tunku area (Segama group) and mid-Tempasuk, and among the Kolurs, polygamy is forbidden, but in most districts the practice is allowed by custom, though it is not common. Polyandry, however, is unknown.

In the Tawau district the number of wives is limited to two, while seven are allowed at Penangah (Tengara group); in Papar and Keningau there is no limit and a man may have as many wives as he can afford. In Rundum there have been instances of a man having four wives, and at Tenom five, but generally, when plurality does occur, the number of wives rarely exceeds two.

In Rundum, and I think generally, the permission of the first wife is necessary before another can be taken and she must

¹ For details of marriage ceremonies, etc., see p. 211 *et seq.*



Photo by courtesy of

DUSUN WOMEN

E. P. Gierltz

MIDLOTHIAN
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be paid *sagit* (in this case known as *lulut* or *dolot*) of one pig, ten strings of beads, brass bracelets and a girdle. If the first wife refuses consent, but the husband persists, his only course is to divorce the first wife, no *brian* being returnable, and he must pay any outstanding portion of the *brian*. If he takes a second wife without the knowledge of the first, he is deemed guilty of adultery.

In the Pensiangan district (Rundum group) Mr. Woolley has noted that formerly, if the parties were important people, the payment, by a custom known as *bulug*, included a slave, whose destiny was not to help the senior wife with her housework, but to furnish by his death and decapitation an opportunity for holding a first-class feast such as celebrated the taking of a head. Nowadays, however, when such amusements are discountenanced and slavery has been abolished, the custom is observed by the erection at the husband's place of a post (*ajong*), the end of which is carved into the semblance of a head, to represent the slave, and an old head, if one can be found, is presented to the senior wife's people.¹

Elsewhere the amount of the compensation varies considerably. Among the Tawau Muruts a wife may claim treble *brian* and one jar, while in the lower Tempasuk district the first wife receives one pig, one buffalo, one cow as *sagit* from her husband and the second wife, and children of the first union receive a fowl each.

In Tambunan, however, there is a curious difference. Here polygamy is extremely rare and is limited to two, being permissible only if the first wife proves sterile, or has produced no male issue, or requires another wife to help her in the house. Selection of this second wife is her prerogative and not her husband's:² he must accept the choice or go without; but he must pay *sagit* to his first wife's relatives: a yearling buffalo, a pig and a fowl, which must be killed and eaten in the village.

The practice of paying *sagit* to the first wife is general, but if a man takes a third wife he usually pays *sagit* only to the second, it being considered that the first had received all that is necessary on the former payment. But in Rundum both wives are paid compensation, the first receiving a slightly smaller proportion than the second. And this exception is also found in the lower Tempasuk districts (Tempasuk, Bongkahak and Pindassan),

¹ *British North Borneo Herald*, September 16, 1925.

² This seems an extraordinary custom. But it has been recorded by Mr. C. F. Skinner, on the authority of the Tambunan chiefs Romantai, Mantigal and Anong.

where, if a third wife be taken, *sagit* must be paid to both the senior wives.

§ 6

Divorce. The ease with which divorce can be obtained among the pagans may account for the comparative complacency with which the first wife regards the second. For although divorce is not so common as might be supposed, it can be obtained by either party at will, or on the score of incompatibility of temper, illness, sterility, desertion, or adultery.

Divorce at Will. Among the Rundums (and the law may be taken as typical for all the groups), if a husband divorces his wife when she herself is not at fault and when she is still capable of bearing children, that is, if he puts her away merely because he is tired of her, he cannot claim return of the *brian*; while if a wife divorces her husband for the same reason she must refund the *brian* and pay *sagit* of one pig and one jar.

Among the Tawau Muruts, a wife who wishes to divorce her husband must, besides repaying the *brian*, find him a substitute. According to the Kolor law, if the husband divorces his wife he must personally take her to her father's house; if the wife divorces the husband she must refund the *brian* and pay *sagit* of a gong and a pig. At Papar, if a divorced woman dies before re-marrying, her former husband must pay her funeral expenses.

By native law children are considered the property of the father, as under our common law.¹ If they are too young to be separated from the mother when a divorce is granted the father must pay an allowance for their maintenance; should he fail to do so, they become the sole property of the mother. If the father can provide a foster-mother, he may retain the children, so long as he has not forfeited his claim to them by defaulting in the payment of the allowance. But among the Tawau Muruts, when divorce is by mutual consent, the children follow which parent they prefer, and if a daughter marries subsequently, her *brian* is divided between the divorced parents.

Among the Tambunan Dusuns either party may divorce at will, but according to Mr. C. F. Skinner's official report, if the husband obtains the divorce and there is one child of the marriage the wife must refund half the *brian*, but need not refund anything if there is no issue, or if there is more than one child. Mr. Skinner has such an extensive knowledge of native custom that I am constrained to record his statement. But

¹ But if he is divorced for adultery, he loses custody. See p. 161.

the equity of the principle which demanded the return of half the *brian* when the wife had given her husband a child, and allowed her to keep the whole of it when she had given him none, was not clear to me and since it is at variance with general custom I felt inquiry advisable. In response to my request Mr. R. F. Evans, then District Officer, Tambunan, consulted his chiefs and reported that so long as the wife is not at fault the husband can claim no refund of *brian* whether there are children or not.

But if the wife divorces her husband for no fault of his, she must refund the *brian* as in other districts, but only half if she has borne her husband children. Here the equity is obvious : the pagan man's object in marriage is to have someone (a) to look after him and his house and (b) to provide him with children. In this case the wife has, at all events, performed half the contract, so that she returns only half the *brian*, in lieu, as it were, of her discontinued domestic services.

Among the Dusuns of mid-Tempasuk the husband, on divorcing his wife at will, must pay her *sagit* of one buffalo, and if he marries again his new wife must pay one yearling buffalo as *sagit* to her predecessor. Among the Kiaus, if the wife seeks divorce and there are children of the marriage, one gong is retained for each child before repayment of the *brian*, and the *pencharian* (that is, the profit made by the married pair during coverture) is divided in the proportion of two-thirds to the husband and one-third to the wife. If there are no children the *pencharian* is divided equally.

Incompatibility. Divorce on account of incompatibility of temper is, of course, merely an extension of divorce at will, but native law is inclined to take into account the temper of the party at fault. For example, at Tambunan, as reported by Mr. Skinner, when the wife's temper is the cause (or if her husband finds her lazy, untruthful or jealous), she must refund the *brian* on a divorce being granted if she has borne no children, and half if she has children. If the husband is considered responsible for the friction, the wife need not refund the *brian* unless there are no children, when she pays half, according to Chief Gedeh ; or, according to Chiefs Romantai and Anong (all questioned by Mr. Skinner), the whole *brian* must be refunded if there has been no issue, and half if there has. Mr. Evans (per Chief Guntamas) states that in neither case is the *brian* refunded.

Illness and Sterility. The law shows some consideration to the wife if a divorce is sought on the ground of illness : in Keningau a man may put his wife away on account of her

disease or blindness, but he must continue to support her for two months. In Tambunan, if the affliction has come upon her within one year of marriage the wife, as well as being divorced, must return half or the whole of the *brian*, according to whether she has borne any children or not, but her husband must make over to her half his rice crop of the ensuing season.

Similar principles govern divorce and refund of *brian* on account of sterility; anything gained during marriage (*pencharian*) being divided in mid-Tempasuk. A similar custom prevails at Papar, unless the wife brought nothing to the marriage settlement, in which case she would be entitled only to one-third.

The proper division of the *pencharian* as between two or more wives has given rise to some very involved court cases, especially in former days in the Tempasuk district. If any particular transaction were carried out during the time when A was living with B, his first wife, or from property which was derived from B, B might claim that she was entitled to enjoy the profit with A, to the exclusion of C, his second wife. He was then bound to try to effect an equally profitable transaction for C. If he made a profit with goods of his own, it was sometimes held that both B and C had an equal claim. When it came to divorce, B might claim that *pencharian* resulted from transactions with her property and A might say that he had used his own capital. In the former case, B was entitled to the whole increment, in the latter to only half. As an example: A trades two buffaloes, one part of B's *brian*, one his own, for a gong. He sells the gong for tobacco and a cow buffalo. The tobacco he trades at a loss, and then the cow has a calf, which he sells for a *duku* pony (the offspring of a mare still in foal). What proportion of the *pencharian* is due to the wife on divorce? I am content to leave the problem to jurists more able than myself.

Desertion. Now that the country is being opened up and natives go to work on plantations distant from their homes, desertion is a commoner cause of divorce than it was formerly, and it is more common among the Dusuns, who are more in touch with modern conditions, than among the Muruts, who remain remote.

Among the Rundums a wife may make her claim after three months, but the Court would give an adjournment to enable the husband to appear or to send a message. A divorce would be given after six months if the woman pressed for it. An offer by the parents or relatives of the absent husband to supply subsistence or expenses would not act as a bar to the suit of

divorce. The husband would not be able to recover his *brian*. If the wife remarries without the grant of a divorce from the Court, she commits adultery. If the husband is undergoing a long sentence of imprisonment the wife can claim a divorce, and half the *brian* is recoverable ; but if the offence for which he is imprisoned is murder or theft, there is no repayment of *brian*.

The Keningau Muruts have become travellers, working not only as labourers on the estates but as police in the Armed Constabulary and as personal servants to Europeans ; so that it is natural to find this ground for divorce more common among them, and it is laid down that desertion by the husband for one year entitles the wife to a divorce without her being required to refund the *brian*. It is significant that this is a new law, provided to meet the changed conditions and to protect the women. On the other hand, if the wife is given the opportunity of accompanying her husband abroad, she must take it, or pay the penalty ; if she refuses to follow her husband and to live in another place, he may divorce her and obtain a refund of the *brian*, less the *bawahan*.

Tambunan also supplies a large percentage of police, estate labourers and servants ; here, too, a new native law similar to that at Keningau has been improvised ; on establishing her claim the wife refunds half or all the *brian* according as there are issue or not. Desertion is not recognized so long as the wife is in receipt of an allowance (*blanja*) from her absent husband.

Among the Temoguns, the wife may marry again during the prolonged absence of her husband if she informs his relatives and refunds the *brian*. If she marries clandestinely, *sagit* of \$50 must be paid, by both herself and her new husband, in addition to the refund of the *brian*. In mid-Tempasuk non-support for fourteen days entitles a wife to a divorce, but she must refund the *brian*.

Adultery. This is the most usual claim for divorce. Here both sexes have equal rights, and the native law varies little throughout the country. As I have mentioned, formerly the penalty was death, but the offence is now punishable by fine or imprisonment. The more drastic punishment was doubtless dictated by sound judgment, not so much on the grounds of morality, but with the object of preserving the rights of the individual in his property and of preventing the social disorder and affrays that would follow marital faithlessness ; the law simply took upon itself to inflict punishment which popular consent allowed (and to some extent still allows) the injured party to inflict himself.

There are distinct penalties which may be awarded : (1) to the State, (2) to the relatives and fellow-villagers, (3) to the injured party. (2) and (3) are in the nature of *sagit*, and the part awarded to the fellow-villagers would generally be buffaloes or pigs, which would be killed for a common feast. The usual rule is that if the wife is at fault she must return the *brian* in full if divorced ; if the husband is at fault he has no claim.

According to principles of native evidence a Court would presume that two parties who had had an opportunity to have committed adultery had in fact committed it—indeed, if a married woman is found anywhere alone with a man not her husband, she will be presumed guilty.

More cases of adultery occur at Keningau than in any other part of the country and here the penalties are standardized, and are those usually in force elsewhere.

(i) Here, if B, the wife of A, commits adultery with C, a married man, and A claims a divorce, B will be sentenced to pay a fine of \$50 or to six months' imprisonment in default, and must also pay A *sagit* of one buffalo. Of this fine, half goes to C's wife, half to Government. C, the co-respondent, will pay double B's fine, half of which goes to A and half to Government, or a year's imprisonment in default. He must also pay *sagit* of one buffalo to A. If no divorce is claimed, the penalties exacted from both parties are halved.

It must not be supposed that the British North Borneo Government has ever expressly ordered any of the fines or portions of fines mentioned in this chapter as "payable to Government." In old days they were doubtless retained by the chief to whom the case went for decision. Now it is assumed by the Native Courts (whose members are in receipt of small salaries as Government officials) that Government should receive that share as punishment by the State for an act that is "contrary to public policy," or "liable to cause a breach of the peace."

(ii) If C is a bachelor, he is fined \$50, half of which goes to A and half to Government ; he also pays *sagit* of one buffalo to A. B pays a fine of \$25, the whole of which goes to Government.

(iii) The offence is considered much more serious if B elopes (*bundas*) with C, and she will be fined \$100 if C is married, and \$75 if he is unmarried, as well as *sagit* of one buffalo ; while C will pay \$150 if married (\$100 to Government and \$50 to A), and, if unmarried, \$100, equally divided between the Government and A, in addition, in both cases, to *sagit* of one buffalo.

(iv) A commits adultery with D, an unmarried girl. If he agrees to marry her (as his second wife) there is no divorce, but he pays *sagit* of one pig and one buffalo to B, his first wife, while D also pays her a pig. If A refuses to marry D, he is fined \$50, all of which goes to Government, and D is fined \$25, half of which goes to Government, and half to B.

Among the Temoguns, if C, a bachelor, commits adultery with B, a married woman, he pays half B's *brian* to her husband and a fine varying between \$50 and \$75 to Government, while B herself is fined from \$50 to \$75, which goes to her husband. If C forces himself upon B, and she tells her husband at once, B incurs no fine, but C will be fined \$100.

It is said to be an old custom at Tenom that if the husband had condoned a first offence, but the wife afterwards was again guilty, her \$50 fine would be equally divided between her husband and the Government; whilst on a third offence, all fines would go to the Government, the principle being that if a man did not divorce his wife, he still retained her services and should not make a personal profit out of her immorality; moreover, the rule tended to prevent collusion or conspiracy. If, on the other hand, he divorced her, he should recover the means to pay *brian* for a new wife.

In all cases in which a divorce is obtained on the grounds of adultery the guilty party loses the custody of the children.

These, then, are the general principles and penalties governing adultery among all the pagan groups: either party may claim divorce on the ground of the other's adultery. If the adultery is proved and a decree of divorce is pronounced, the male offender (whether respondent or co-respondent) is fined from \$50 to \$100, in addition to payment of *sagit*; the female offender is fined half and pays *sagit*. If the offence is condoned, half the penalties are exacted, and the same *sagit* paid. Half the fines go to Government, half to the aggrieved parties, and the guilty parties lose the *brian* and the children.

The following exceptions and divergencies must be noted.

Among the Rundum Muruts the law is exceptional to the general rule.

(i) A and B are man and wife. B commits adultery with C. If A claims a divorce, the *brian* is not refunded, but B pays him *sagit* of a pig and a jar. Formerly, if B eloped with C the *brian* was recoverable.

(ii) If A commits adultery with D, B may claim a divorce and does not refund the *brian*. Here no *sagit* is paid.

(iii) A condones B's misconduct. Then C must pay A the

amount of B's *brian* and if a married man must pay to his own wife ten strings of beads (*bunkas*) and a jar as *sagit*; while B must herself pay A a pig and a jar, and to C's wife a pig, a jar, ten strings of beads, a bracelet and a girdle. In olden days, if C could not pay a substantial part of B's *brian* he was sold into slavery. Now, if unable to pay he would be sent to gaol.

These rules are taken from Mr. E. G. Grant's report. It seems to be the only case in which the respondent wife is not called upon to refund the *brian* and obviously it will pay the husband to condone under rule (iii) rather than to divorce under rule (i).

The Rundum law allows a man to divorce his wife on suspicion of misconduct with another man, C, and to give notice that if she subsequently marries C, he will prosecute her for adultery. Such notices must be publicly given in Court or to the woman's relatives. A wife may act in a similar way. The Court may think that she is merely jealous without good reason, and so order her to refund half her *brian*, but a rider may be added that if the husband marries D, then the first wife may reopen her case and claim retention or restoration of all *brian*. An intermediate marriage would be a bar to any such action.

Among the Kolurs, if A divorces B, B must refund the *brian* in the usual way, but if she is unable to pay, she must return to A.

Among the Bol Muruts, B would pay, as a fine, beads to the value of \$50 and one pig, C beads to the value of \$125, one pig and one cutting-knife, B's fine going to A, C's to Government. If B elopes with C, C pays a fine of \$300 to Government, or one year's imprisonment, while B pays \$150 to A.

In the Tawau district B and C are fined thirty *ketas*¹ each, and 100 *ketas* for a subsequent offence. In the Lahad Datu district the *brian*, instead of being forfeited by the offending party, is divided equally in all cases. Here, too, it may be noted that if B commits adultery with C, an unmarried man, C must pay \$15 damages to A, but no penalty is exacted from B, the principle being that, C having no wife, B has harmed no woman, while her husband has obtained his compensation from the man. This law is quite unusual.

Among the Tengaras of the Kwamut district, B is fined ten *bukok* (in value approximately \$5), while C is fined double and pays A in addition one gong. Formerly, until this gong had been paid A might kill C at sight. The presentation of the gong settled the feud.

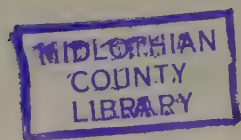
¹ Articles of any kind. See note, p. 138.



Photo by courtesy of

MURUT WOMEN (RUNDUM GROUP)

H. W. J. Broekman



The Papar Dusuns make no distinction whether the co-respondent is married or unmarried. This also is unusual, an offence by a bachelor being generally viewed with more latitude. In Papar, too, there is the exceptional rule that while adultery is considered a very serious offence on the part of a wife, it is not held as a ground for divorce if committed by the husband, unless he has neglected to maintain his wife; if A commits adultery with D, an unmarried and unbetrothed girl, he will be required to pay his wife *sagit*, without other penalty. Of course, were D married, D's husband would have a remedy against A, though B could not divorce A.

In Papar, and indeed in most parts of the territory, offences committed during festivals, when most of the company are drunk, are overlooked; this is partly because, everyone being the worse for liquor, evidence is almost wholly unreliable, but even more because on such occasions modesty and restraint are apt to be swept aside and almost wholesale licence prevails. Some years ago such a case came before the Keningau Native Court. A petitioned for divorce on the grounds of his wife, B, misconducting herself with C during a feast. B and C admitted the offence, but stated that they had been drunk at the time. The Native Court at once non-suited the petitioner and threw the case out, on the ground that at such times normal restraint was traditionally not to be expected. The petitioner took the case on appeal successively to the District Officer and the Resident; in both cases the appeal was dismissed, for neither Court, while admitting that the petitioner had right on his side (though he himself had committed a similar offence on the night in question), could see its way to upset a judgment that was unquestionably based on long established custom.

Among the Rungus is found the following curious law. If B commits adultery with C at a time when A is on an expedition collecting jungle produce, C must pay the value of the jungle produce as well as any other fine that may be inflicted. The same rule also applies if C has immoral relations with A's daughter.

The respondent and co-respondent in a divorce case are usually allowed to marry. The following exceptions to this rule have been noted: among the Kolurs a divorced wife may not marry the co-respondent within a year without her husband's permission. Among the Tagals she may not marry him at all. A similar custom prevails among the Tawau Muruts, where the guilty parties may neither marry nor cohabit, the former penalty for breach of this law being death.

In the Kiau district, a married man would be forbidden to marry a girl with whom he had committed adultery and would have to pay to his wife *sagit* of one buffalo and one pig, and to the girl a gong value \$1, while the girl would pay the wife one buffalo and one pig.

In Keningau there is a law that if A has been *convicted* in Court of adultery with E, a married woman, who is thereupon divorced by her husband, he may not then marry her. Suspicion of adultery is not enough. The moral of this is that if A and E really love each other and want to marry, they should free themselves first in a legitimate way (even though that may cost them more than a simple return of *brian*), and not have recourse to adultery, with risk of trial and conviction. This law, therefore, has been upheld by Government when questioned.

§ 7

Mourning and Remarriage. The following information regarding mourning was collected by Mr. F. W. Fraser and relates particularly to the Keningau Muruts, but may, I think, be taken as generally applicable to all the Muruts. The sign of mourning is a circle of white rattan round the waist and the custom is called *mengulit*. Formerly this could only be removed when a fresh head had been taken, and a person in mourning might not attend a drinking feast or remarry until it had been removed. If an enemy's head was hard to procure a slave could be bought and killed. It was not necessary for the person in mourning to take the head, but he or she must be present when it was taken. Thus, on the sacrifice of a slave, a whole village might go out of mourning.

Native custom provides definite observances as regards remarriage, and as a second marriage severs the man's relationship with his first wife's family he (and this may apply to widows as well as widowers) must ask permission, or at least notify, his relatives-in-law before marrying again.

Among the Rundum Muruts a widower wishing to remarry would seek a close relation of his wife's, preferably her sister. Generally his family would, after consultation, start negotiations, especially if there are young children left by the deceased: it keeps them "in the family" and from going to the care of a strange stepmother. The husband, however, has no right to demand an eligible woman as his wife's substitute or successor. Nor can a mother-in-law enforce the acceptance of another daughter. If such a marriage is agreed upon, *brian* is paid afresh.

He may marry a second wife who is no relation to the first only by permission of his parents-in-law, and a breach of this observance formerly rendered him liable to death at the hands of his first wife's father. In the same way, if there are no children born to him he may take as many as four wives, but all should be provided by the original mother-in-law.

The Temogun custom is slightly different. If the surviving party wishes to remarry, he or she may do so outside the family circle, but permission must first be obtained from the relatives of the deceased and *sagit* of \$40 paid.

In Keningau the death of either party automatically wipes out any unpaid balance of *brian*, but if the *brian* has been paid in full, the *bawahan* can be claimed by the widower, and should he wish to remarry he must pay *tadong* or *tilog* (a form of *sagit*) as a sign of severance of relationship with his deceased wife's relatives. Mr. Fraser explains that this custom arose because in the Dalit country a man becomes a member of his wife's family and is expected to supply his wife's relations with a fair division of anything he makes by working or of any property he succeeds in getting. So that *tadong* was really compensation for loss of the man from the house ; and in former times refusal to pay led to many murders and head-feuds.

This law of *sagit tadong*, which does not apply to later marriages of divorced persons, is generally observed among the Muruts, and its breach is a crime. For example : A and B are husband and wife. B dies. Then A has to observe the various taboo as regards mourning. A, however, marries a fresh wife or stops his mourning and joins in at feasts or amusements without informing, consulting or obtaining leave from C, B's brother or nearest male relative. This is a serious offence and a deadly insult, especially if the second marriage takes place within a few months of the death of B ; A has shown lack of affection and callousness whilst B's relatives are still plunged in mourning. In former times C could kill A, or, if he still felt some regard for his brother-in-law, he could go and take a head from some village with which he had an outstanding feud (thus killing two birds with one stone), and show this head to A. If A ignored this challenge, C would kill him without compunction : otherwise, A would go off and secure a head from one of *his* enemies, and bring it to C. A and C then laid their trophies at each end of B's grave, there was a joint feast, the grave was then ' clean ' and A and C could live in amity.

Conversely, if A had died, and B took a fresh husband without paying *tadong*, or abandoned mourning without consultation,

D, A's brother, could kill B or B's brother; alternatively, he would secure a head in some enemy village and take it to B's brother as his challenge.

Nowadays *sagit* replaces the taking of heads. If the new marriage is within a month, of A's (or B's) death, *sagit* may be \$80: if within six months, about \$70 (Tenom), and the term *salopot* is used to describe the offence. If the time is much longer, up to five years, the *sagit* may be less, e.g. \$20, and the term *salopot* is not used. No part of this *sagit* goes to Government as a fine.

It is usual for the relatives of the deceased, after a short time, to break the taboo as regards mourning, i.e. to allow the surviving husband or wife to put on new clothes and to join in ordinary village life, especially if there are children of the marriage. They may even give permission voluntarily for a remarriage, in which case no *sagit* can be claimed if such a marriage takes place. If the survivor asks leave to marry again, the relatives of the deceased may give consent on condition of a small payment as *sagit*.

Among the Tawau Muruts a widow on remarriage pays her first husband's relatives a gong and ten *ketas*. If she does not remarry the husband's relatives support her.

The Tambunan law as to remarriage is the same as that in force at Keningau: death cancels the unpaid balance of the *brian*. If a man's wife dies childless he may claim her sister in marriage without further payment of *brian* or even *sagit*, but in the neighbouring district of Ranau he must make a small additional payment.

A similar custom is in force at Papar. If a widower wishes to remarry he must seek his new wife in the family of his deceased wife. If there is a woman available (her sister, for example) he must marry her or pay *sagit*. Otherwise he may marry without penalty. The same rule applies to widows. Conversely, if one of two brothers dies and leaves a widow, the surviving brother, whether married or single, is compelled to take this woman as his wife, but he may release her subsequently if she wishes to marry another man.

§ 8

Inheritance. The laws relating to inheritance among all the pagans are sound and equitable. The general rule, with certain exceptions, is that all children receive a share of the parents' estates. Besides this it is very important to notice that a man has no power over his wife's property, and that a

married woman never ceases to be *sui juris*. This is almost universal, but is particularly noticeable among the richer tribes, such as the Dusuns of the west coast, the bulk of whose property lies in land. One may thus again trace the development of the pagan social fabric from the primitive communities of the hills, where little immovable property is owned, to the wealthy landowners of the coast. This law undoubtedly dates back to remote times, and it is interesting to reflect that our own Married Women's Property Act was not passed until 1882.

Generally speaking, the rights of women as regards inheritance become less among the more remote pagans, who, owing to their semi-nomadic habits, cannot be said to own land. The underlying principle is that it is unnecessary for a daughter to have so large a share in the inheritance as a son, since she is, or will be, provided for by a husband.

Nevertheless, the principle that a girl must have some share is usually present, and among the Rundums movable property is divided among all the children, the sons receiving the greater portion, while immovable property—land, houses and fruit trees—is divided equally; inherited and family property, which may be called heirlooms, such as a valuable jar or piece of brass that has been handed down for generations, goes to the eldest child, irrespective of sex. The latter custom holds among the Marudu Dusuns for all property, but this is exceptional.

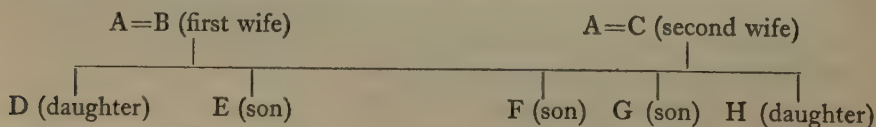
The Temoguns divide all movable property equally among the children, the widow receiving an equal share with them; immovable property descends to the male branch of the family, but, if sold, the daughters are entitled to an equal share in the proceeds, and crops are divided between sons and daughters, even though the latter be married. Heirlooms descend in the same way as movable property.

The Keningau law is an exception to the general rule that daughters must have some share in the estate. Here, movable property is divided amongst the sons, the eldest obtaining the largest share, the youngest the smallest, an exception being made in the case of a son who is supporting his father, when he would rank as the eldest. If there are no sons, the daughters inherit in the same way. The same rule applies to immovable property, but the eldest son has the right to take the whole of the property if he pays his brothers their share in kind. A similar rule applies when the father has had a right in the collection of edible birds' nests. On his death the periodical collections are divided proportionately or the sons arrange to take the collections in turn. Heirlooms descend in the male line.

Among the Muruts of the lower Padas (Temogun group), the widow receives one-third of her husband's movable property, the remaining two-thirds being divided among the children in equal shares. On the death of the widow, her share is equally divided amongst the children. The widow has the right to get her living from any immovable property though possession goes to the children; and a daughter has the first claim on a house that is building.

The Tagals and the Bol Muruts have the following curious law: if A dies, having given certain immovable property into the keeping of his friend B, and B pays the funeral expenses, B is entitled to keep the property; otherwise he returns it to A's relatives. If the relatives pay half the funeral expenses they may claim half the property, but if A has a child, it will receive one-third in any event. Among the Bol Muruts, if a man dies childless, the wife divides the *pencharian* with her husband's next-of-kin, who must, however, share the funeral expenses.

The prosperous Tambunan and Papar Dusuns naturally have elaborate laws relating to inheritance. In Tambunan the same law applies both to movable and immovable property, and, as in the Keningau group, sons have prior claims to the entire exclusion of daughters; the sons share the estate equally, and if there are no sons, the daughters share equally. A child who has been supporting the parents receives an extra share. In the absence of any children, the property passes to the male next-of-kin, but the widow receives a half share. When a man leaves two widows, the property is divided as follows:



Suppose the estate to be valued at \$400. D and H, being girls, are not entitled to any share. E, as son of the first wife, takes precedence over his half-brothers, and receives \$200. F and G receives \$100 each. Had D been a son \$300 would have been divided between D and E, \$100 between F and G. The widows' shares are included in the shares of their respective children.

The Papar custom is slightly different. The eldest son takes the major portion of both movable and immovable property; then come the younger sons and after them the daughters, but each must have some share in the estate. The eldest son cannot

be deprived of his rights of inheritance and if he is an idiot or incapable a guardian is appointed to act in his interests.

At Papar if a man dissipates his wife's property, the wife, or the son, may bring an action for recovery. This is the only occasion in which the Dusun law considers it fitting for a son to bring an action against his father. If the wife dies, her property is kept intact for her heirs, and the *pencharian* is divided amongst them. If the husband marries a second wife and has issue the children of the second marriage can inherit only the property of their mother, or their share in property acquired by the father after the second marriage.

In the Segama area the rights of the daughter reach the highest point, for here all children divide the estate equally, irrespective of sex.

If a man dies without issue, his brother ranks as his next-of-kin, or his sister in the absence of a brother; and sisters (as in mid-Tempasuk) would take priority over a deceased brother's children. In lower Tempasuk, if a man dies without issue, his property is divided into four shares, the brothers receiving half and the sisters and wife one quarter each.

§ 9

Adoption. The pagans are fond of children, although they do not have large families, and adoption is provided for and not uncommon. With the exception of Parenchangan (Ranau group) where adoption is not allowed, and at Tambunan, where only orphans may be adopted, in most districts anyone may adopt a child provided that the consent of its parents or guardians is obtained. It is probable that usually orphans are adopted, for parents seldom wish to part with their children and would regard such an act as equivalent to selling the child.

Once adopted, a child has no rights in the family of its own parents, but for purposes of marriage must accept the bars of its new relationship as well as those of the old one. It may not be passed on for re-adoption, and usually has the same rights and status as the true-born children of the family, but with the Temoguns, the Tagals and the Kolurs, it only has one-third of the inheritance rights of the other children, in the Kudat district one quarter, in Tempasuk half. Among the Tagals and Kolurs, however, if an adopted son has on his marriage been given a *brian* by his foster-parent, he has no further claim on the estate, but must share in the funeral expenses.

Adoption usually takes place in families where there are no children. At Papar some ceremony attends the adoption of a child, the relatives being called together, a buffalo being killed and eaten and the child's adoption being publicly proclaimed. Here an adopted child in a family where there are no other children, ranks as the eldest and has the same rights. If a son is born after the child has been adopted, the adopted child will rank after the true son, and after any other true sons that may subsequently be born. An adopted son holds the same rank as a true-born daughter. An adopted child is rarely sent out of a family and only if it turns out to be an incorrigible evil-doer.

§ 10

Animal Trespass. The pagans have a very clear and elaborate law relating to trespass, as is necessary in communities where, until recently, police were unknown and the conservation of property depended largely upon goodwill.

The rule that the owner of a straying animal must make good damage done by it is general, but the guiding principle of the pagan law of trespass is that where animals are few (as in the hills) they should be herded and that where they are numerous (as on the plains) cultivated areas should be fenced.

For damage caused by pigs a Rundum Murut will demand a pig or a quantity of unhusked rice as compensation, or will kill and eat the pig, sending word to the owner that he has done so.

At Tenom (Temogun group) it is permissible to kill a straying animal only after the owner has been warned four times; if killed, it is shared between the aggrieved party and the owner. This used to be the law in Tambunan on the first offence, and is so still among the Kolurs on the second, but here the owner has no share; nor has he among the Marudu Dusuns, or the Tambunwas, where the pig may be speared if the owner has been warned. If the animal is killed no compensation for damage caused by it can be claimed.

Among the more advanced Papar Dusuns, an owner is required to fence his land, and only if the fence is broken by a buffalo or pig can he claim compensation. The fence must be strong enough to resist a buffalo, and the strength of a broken fence would be one of the issues of an ensuing legal action. The owner of the damaged property may, however, bring evidence to show that the buffalo in question is an habitual offender and wilfully destroys even good fences. Then its owner can be ordered to dispose of the buffalo and to pay damages.



Photo

Man Sing

A DUSUN GIRL OF THE PUTATAN GROUP
The coins sewn on the coat are English pennies.



Such regulations are essential in an agricultural district and apply also in the lower and mid-Tempasuk districts, where a definite standard is laid down for the number of posts and cross-pieces a fence must have. There is no penalty for the first offence ; the animal may be killed on repeating the offence, but if the fence is under the standard size the owner of the land must pay for the animal. Pigs must be impounded when the rice crop is in ear, and any pigs then found wandering near a rice-field may be killed.

In the plain districts, where considerable herds of buffaloes and cattle are to be found, it is an accepted principle that cattle may graze on unfenced land. In the Tempasuk district, where the largest herds are found, it is an offence for anyone to go amongst a herd without permission and he will be required to replace any loss that may occur from the beasts stampeding. Chasing a herd without permission is an offence punishable by a fine of one cow. When cattle belonging to several owners graze in common, any one owner must notify the others before cutting out one of his own beasts.

Rights of Way. The pagans strictly preserve rights of way. When a new rice clearing is made, it may be necessary to enclose a section of a public path. This may be done provided that an alternative path—that is, a deviation—is made.

Among the Rundum Muruts, if the encloser fails to do this, a traveller wishing to pass may demand *sagit* of a jar and a pig. If this is not paid, and a death should occur in the aggrieved party's house, the *sagit* will be increased to a fine of twenty jars—in value from \$100 to \$150.

In Tuaran, if an alternative path is not made, gates must be erected in the fence large enough to enable a buffalo to pass through.

House Trespass. A man may not enter without permission a room or house in which a woman is alone. In Rundum the penalty is one pig and two jars if the offence is committed by day, and an enhanced penalty if by night. According to the Temogun law the woman must tell her husband, or she will be fined also and might even be divorced. In Tambunan this appears to be an offence only if the woman is married, when the fine is \$5. Among the Rungus an offence is committed even if there are two women in the house.

In Keningau the following unusual law has been observed : A enters B's house unknown to B, and borrows some article, or removes an article lent by himself to B. B returns and, not knowing the true state of affairs, accuses others of theft, or

otherwise insults them. Then A is liable for the penalty B would normally be required to pay.

In the same district, if A were to enter B's house at night without ill intent, but without waking B or any of his household, he commits an offence punishable by the fine of one fowl, the fine being increased to one of \$15 if he enters by any means other than the door.

Throughout the country it is the recognized privilege for a houseowner to be able to "sport his oak," when for any special reason he desires to do so.

In Tambunan it is an offence for anyone to enter a new house before the 'house-warming' rites (*moubat*) have been performed and when death has occurred in a house, no stranger may enter it for four days—that is, until the corpse is buried. The penalty is the payment of a pig for the breach of the first custom (or in Tuaran, where the same law is found, of a goat) and of a fowl for the second.

At Tunku (Segama group), if there is sickness in a house a strand of rattan is stretched across the paths leading to it, and if anyone approaches within fifty feet he is liable to a fine of \$2. A similar law is found at Papar, where, if the owner of the house wishes to "make medicine" (*ber-ubat*), a palm frond is placed across the path, the penalty for disregarding the warning being the payment of one fowl.

On Tempasuk Plain to enter a neighbour's field-hut within three days of his having started to reap, is an offence, punishable by payment of a chicken as *sagit*.

Hunting Rights. Definite laws govern the conduct of hunting. In Tambunan the following law is in force: A and B are out hunting independently. A's dogs put up a wild boar and drive it towards B. B's dogs kill the boar, or B himself spears it. Then A and B must divide the kill. But if B fails to tell A what has happened, A may claim a pig as compensation, or, if the quarry were a deer, a buffalo or cow; if a roe-deer, a goat. The Rundum Muruts regard such an offence as extremely serious if the quarry is a deer, and the penalty is as high as in the case of adultery; but if the quarry is a pig the penalty is the same as that in force at Tambunan.

Fishing Rights. As I have mentioned, it is not considered an offence for a traveller while on a journey to take a few fish out of a trap for personal consumption on the spot. But if he takes the fish home with him he becomes guilty of an offence for which the penalty in Tambunan is \$5. If he removes the trap he must pay \$5 more.

At Tambunan, also, the penalty for disregarding the warning sign that a reach is closed for fishing is \$5.

Jungle Reserves. Clumps of bamboo may be preserved in a similar manner, especially at Tambunan and on the coastal plains. On application the owner may allow another to take a small quantity without charge, or may charge \$1 if a large quantity is required. If any bamboo is cut without permission the owner would be entitled to compensation of \$2.

Reserves may also be claimed by villages over tracts of country containing rattan, tree-gum (*damar*), gutta-percha and other jungle products, *sagit* of varying amounts being demanded for infringement.

Fruit Reserves. All the tribes show themselves considerate to the passing traveller and in almost every district he is allowed to take fruit from private trees in a garden or beside the path to satisfy his appetite, provided that no reserve sign is placed near by.

The Temoguns expect a traveller to leave behind the ends of any stalks of sugar-cane he has cut down, to show how much he has eaten. He may help himself to coconuts without committing an offence, so long as he informs the owner the number he has taken. The Rundum Muruts permit a *bona fide* traveller to take anything he requires from a clearing except sugar-cane, the penalty for taking the latter without permission being the payment of a fowl. In Tambunan, if the reserve (*tegah*) sign is disregarded, the penalty is a cup of salt; in the Labuk and Sugut district (among the Tambunwas), where the reserve sign is a couple of crossed sticks, the offender must pay for what he has taken.

An exception to this general rule of hospitality to the traveller has been noted in the thickly populated district of Papar, where the sense of individual property has become more strongly developed; here it is an offence to pick fruit without the owner's permission. The penalty is *sagit* of a goat and a fowl, but if the *sagit* be not paid and some misfortune occurs to the owner or his family in the meantime, this may be increased to a buffalo.

§ 11

It will now be convenient to group together a number of minor and miscellaneous offences which are provided for by native law in various parts of the country.

Assault. The native law relating to assault differs somewhat from that administered under the Indian Penal Code. Unless

serious, an assault may usually be met by the payment of *sagit* of a fowl or pig, but this penalty may be exacted even though the offence were accidentally and involuntarily committed.

At Tambunan drunkenness is regarded as a mitigation, just as it is in lapses in sexual behaviour. For example, for a serious assault a man might be required to pay a fine of one full-grown buffalo and *sagit* of one pig (total value \$30), but if the offender were drunk when the assault was committed the penalty would be reduced to a small buffalo and a pig—\$15 in value.

In Tuaran, if A assaults B in C's house, A, besides paying B compensation varying with the nature of the assault, must pay C *sagit* of a goat or two fowls. If a man frightens a pregnant woman he must pay a goat and a small jar, and if children under two years old, a goat and \$3.

In the Ranau district, if both parties appear to be equally at fault the matter is settled by their exchanging salt.

It may be noted that wife-beating is everywhere a punishable offence, but is very rare.

Insult. Insult may take the form of simple abuse or outrage to the modesty of a woman. In some instances it is closely allied to assault. To catch hold of or to squeeze a woman's breast is everywhere considered an offence. Among the Rundum Muruts the penalty is *sagit* of a pig and three jars, among the Temoguns \$30, and similar penalties are enforced elsewhere.

The offering of tobacco by a man to a woman is considered tantamount to asking her to sleep with him, and is an offence, punishable at Rundum by a fine of one pig and a jar.

The following examples of insult punishable by varying fines are in force throughout the territory: throwing dirt, calling a man a slave, exposing the private parts or relieving nature before a woman, pointing in anyone's face, and (in Tuaran) tying green leaves in front of another's house without permission.

In the Kiau district and possibly elsewhere, it is an offence to watch a woman bathe, even though it is most exceptional for women to bathe naked.

Among the Temoguns, it is an offence to follow a married woman, the penalty being a fine of \$25, which sum must be paid by the woman also unless she herself complains. A similar fine is imposed if a man removes a comb from a woman's hair or puts a flower down the back of her bodice. And if, when men and women are sleeping in a house in two rows, with feet towards each other, one couple are found to have their feet entwined, both parties are fined \$25.

In Tuaran it is an offence for a man to ask a married woman to perform a service for him, unless he has previously asked her husband's permission.

Cursing. Cursing (*sumpah*) is akin to insult, but is regarded as much more serious, owing to the evil effects which may attend a curse. Usually it is punishable by fine, the amount varying with the seriousness of the words used. In Tambunan, for example, the penalty varies between \$2 and \$15. In the Marudu and Kudat districts, if the party cursed dies or falls sick a much heavier penalty is imposed.

At Keningau the penalty for placing a general curse on a man and his relatives is punishable by a fine of one buffalo and a fowl. Here it is not necessary that the curse be spoken, and a similar penalty is exacted if anyone cuts a "swearing stick," or a tree, on the land of another. If the stick is planted at a distance the penalty is reduced to one fowl.

At Papar, if a new house is being built it is an offence to strike any of the timbers with a cutting-knife, or to do anything in the vicinity which may be taken as disparaging to the house or its owner. If this offence be committed *sagit* of one buffalo (locally known as *sagit bahun*) must be paid.

Pointing a finger at or near a person is a minor form of *sumpah* and has resulted in the curious custom, almost invariably followed by the pagans, of pointing with the lips or chin.

Trial by Ordeal. Wrongful accusation is also an offence punishable by native law. For example, if A says that B has committed adultery with C's wife, he may be charged by either B, C, or C's wife, the penalty at Tenom and Keningau being one buffalo if the statement is proved false.

A man on being, as he claims, wrongfully accused, may elect to be tried by ordeal (*mentugi*). For example, if A tells B and C that X has committed adultery with Y's wife, X, on being taxed with the offence, may elect to undergo the boiling water test. This test, which by native law any accused may elect to undergo, consists of plunging an arm into boiling water. If the suspected man is burnt, he is considered guilty, if he is unharmed he is acquitted of the imputation on his character. In the above case (noted in the Tenom district) if X came through the ordeal unscathed, A, the accuser, would be fined one buffalo, B \$15 and C \$10. Otherwise X might proceed against A for slander in the ordinary way.

The following curious law has also been noted in the Tenom district: if, while X is undergoing the ordeal, a woman living in the same watershed, and pregnant at the time, subsequently

gives birth to a child whose skin is blistered, the father may claim \$50 damages from X, and \$100 if the child should die.

Nowadays the Native Court does not countenance trial by ordeal; nevertheless it is still practised upon occasions as may be seen by the following account, given to Mr. G. C. Woolley, by Bulandai, a Murut of Labau on the extreme border of the Interior Residency (Ranau group). Owing to the peculiar interest of the story I have felt it best not to attempt to condense or summarize it and give it as written down in the *oratio recta* by Mr. Woolley from Bulandai's report.¹

"About a fortnight ago, Gindau, a man whose village is just over the border, arrived at my house and said that he was looking for his dog, which was lost. This seemed to me so improbable a story that I said, 'Perhaps it is a man, not a dog, that is lost,' whereupon Gindau explained that his son Bati had gone out hunting with his dogs and never returned: did I know anything about it? I assured him that I knew nothing, and that neither I nor the people of my village had harmed Bati: we were friends and our people had intermarried: I was willing to take an oath on the subject. I then went with Gindau to make inquiries at Kampong Alab, whose headman, Gitong, was equally positive, and a date was fixed a week ahead for a *mentugi*. The headman of Sinokol, another village, also agreed to come.

"Gitong and I arrived in due course at Binokok, Gindau's place: the Sinokol people had not yet turned up, but it was decided not to wait for them, so the preparations went forward.

"There was no preliminary ceremonial: Gindau led us to a spot in the jungle a few hundred yards from the house because, as he explained, his son had been lost in the jungle, so the ceremony could not be held in the house or in a clearing. He then went to a clump of big bamboo, and cut a joint, and he, Gitong and I squatted down facing each other: the Binokok people stood, armed, in a crowd round us. A fire was made ready on the ground between us, and the open end of the bamboo was supported on a forked stick over the fire, just as when rice is being cooked in a bamboo.

"Gindau then picked up a stone and dropped it into the bamboo, and then put in some beeswax, some pigs' fat, some chillies, and a *kladi* stem, which was wound round and round in a coil. These ingredients had no magical significance, but were strictly practical. The stone was to be picked out, to prove that the hand had really been inserted; the boiling

¹ First published in the *British North Borneo Herald*, October 1, 1927.

wax and oil were to increase the effect of a scald by adhering to the skin, and as the hand had to go down through the coiled *kladi* stem, it would cling to the forearm, and give ample time for the water to scald. The addition of pepper (chillies) to the water would also enhance the results of a burn.

"The bamboo was then filled up with water, and placed over the fire to boil. When it began to boil, Gindau took a stick—a piece of branch which he had just cut from the tree—and struck the ground by the fire and made his *sumpah* (oath): 'Hear, all of you: whoever slew my son, either he or his people, before ever his hand can reach the bottom of the bamboo, may his hand be burnt,' and he called on Kinaringan, Lord of the Upper World, and Dalumtanah, Lord of the Under World for their help in revealing the murderer. It was not a long invocation nor was there any part taken by a 'medicine man,' or 'wise woman.' The crowd around listened in silence.

"Gitong then spoke: 'Gindau truly calls upon Kinaringan and Dalumtanah, and may it be so; but if I or my people neither met his son nor slew him, when my hand enters this bamboo may it not be burnt, but be plunged as it were in cold water.' He then at once put his hand into the bamboo, and pulled out the stone, which he held out to Gindau. Gindau took his hand, and pulled off the *kladi* stem which was round the wrist and arm, and examined the arm carefully, even scratching it with his nails to see whether scalded skin would peel off, but there was no harm done. Twice more, once with each hand, was Gitong tested, but each time he came through the ordeal triumphantly.

"Then my turn came; the stone and *kladi* stem, etc., were all replaced, more water was added, and when it boiled, I made my invocation, as Gitong had done. As my hand approached the seething mouth of the bamboo, the bubbles ceased, and the water level fell, and I put in my hand and arm, half way to the elbow and pulled out the stone, the *kladi* stem clinging round my wrist. I felt no more than a mild warmth, and when Gindau examined my hand and arm, he could find no hurt. Again I tried, and the result was the same—my arm was not even red.

"The ordeal was over, and we all went back to the house. Later on, Pendekar, headman of Sinokol, arrived with three others, and they agreed to take the test next morning. It was held at the same place, but Gitong and I did not go down to see it: my brother Ambau went, and said that if they failed he would shout to us. In due time we heard a shout, and hurried down to find the four men prisoners and bound. Ambau told us how when Pendekar's hand approached the bamboo, the bubbling

liquid sprang to meet his fingers, which he drew back scalded, then again he tried, and dipped his hand wrist deep, but could not reach the stone : in desperation he turned and tried to escape, but the armed crowd seized them, and for a while it was touch and go whether they would be cut to pieces. At last sober counsels prevailed and when one of the four said, ' Do not kill us : Tebugun and Ambidau of our village killed Bati over a hunting quarrel,' it was decided to let them go on their undertaking to arrest and hand over the guilty men.

" Ambidau and Tebugun, it was said, had also been out hunting, when they heard Bati's dogs put up a pig : they followed and got the pig. Then Bati came up and claimed a half share of the meat, as the pig had been found by his dogs. The others refused, and in the ensuing quarrel Bati was killed by a spear thrust."

Mr. Woolley examined Bulandai's hands, and they certainly bore no marks of recent scald or burn. Bulandai assured him that his test and Gitong's were genuine—there was no collusion or trickery to enable them to escape : he had not previously prepared or doctored his arm, and the contents of the bamboo were boiling fiercely a moment before he inserted his hand. It was simply, said he, his innocence that saved him.

Here the account in the *Herald* ends. Soon after Mr. Woolley had sent it in, as he tells me in a letter on the subject of the article, Gitong arrived at Keningau, and asserted that though he had taken the test, as described, in Bulandai's presence, yet Bulandai himself had not taken it, having already satisfied Gindau of his innocence. Gitong added that after two dips, he had been seized by Gindau and others, who pushed his hand and arm again into the bamboo and held it there, but even so he was not scalded. It also appears that Bati met his death at the hands of the Sinokol people, having been killed, as they stated at the subsequent trial, " whilst trying to escape."

It thus becomes difficult to know how much credibility can be given to either Bulandai or Gitong. The facts may have been substantially as Bulandai related and he may have invented his own part in the affair to give colour to the narrative ; on the other hand both Bulandai and Gitong may have been romancing and may have wanted to convince the Resident, for purposes of their own, that they had no connection with the murder. Mr. Woolley is of opinion that it is quite possible that Gitong did undergo the ordeal and he is the person best qualified to judge the evidence. In any case the account does give a graphic

picture of this form of trial, which, until recent times, was commonly held among the pagans, and as a revelation of pagan psychology it is, I think, not without value.

Offences against Hospitality. We have seen that the pagans consider the needs of the passing traveller and allow him to satisfy his appetite with fruit and fish. But the law of hospitality goes farther than this and in most districts he is entitled to claim a night's lodging without fear of refusal. At Keningau anyone refusing such a request without good reason would be liable to a fine of \$5.

Among the Rundum Muruts, if a man is drinking in his house and sees another go by but does not invite him in, he may be required to pay *sagit* of a fowl. Again, if B goes to A's house with, or soon after, other friends of his, and the friends are given food while none is offered to B, B may claim *sagit* of a fowl. At Rundum, too, all game captured must be divided amongst the household (where many other families may be living) or *sagit* of one fowl must be paid.

Mr. Lease tells me that on the upper Kinabatangan (Tengara group), as soon as a boat with strangers comes to the landing-stage of a house, the inmates bring down food for the travellers, and no questions are asked until they have satisfied their hunger. Failure to observe this custom would probably entitle the visitors to claim *sagit*.

In Papar, if a wedding is being celebrated, any relative who has not been invited may claim *sagit* in the event of anything untoward subsequently occurring to him.

At the same time guests are expected to behave with becoming propriety. Among the Kolurs, Tagals and Bol Muruts, if a guest gets drunk at a feast and does any damage in the house he must pay one jar and a fowl—value \$5.

Mischief to Animals. Subject to the law of trespass, to injure or destroy any domestic animal is an offence, requiring restitution in proportion to the value of the animal, together with *sagit*. Similarly if a dog is caught in a trap the value of the dog must be refunded to the owner ; but among the Temoguns the deliberate killing of a dog is regarded as a very serious offence and is punishable by a fine of one buffalo.

Miscellaneous Offences. In conclusion the following miscellaneous customs may be noted. At Papar, (and possibly elsewhere) if a man be taken by a crocodile, the finder of his corpse can claim a buffalo, a pig and a fowl from the heir. Among the Tagals and Kolurs it is an offence for a newly married husband or wife to cut the hair without first informing the

other. The same tribes punish the breaking of an appointment by the fine of a jar ; and among the Kolurs, if anyone takes a child away without its parents' knowledge he must pay a gong, a blowpipe and a pig, in addition to returning the child. In Tawau a man who borrows a boat without obtaining the owner's permission may be fined twenty articles (*ketas*) ; at Papar (and probably elsewhere) a man who fells a tree so that it falls on a field of growing rice must pay *sagit* of one pig and one fowl ; while in most districts, if the inhabitants of a village are preparing to catch fish by means of poisoning the water of a reach with *tuba* root, they must inform the next village downstream or incur a fine which in Keningau amounts to one buffalo.

Definite penalty for breach of contract has been noticed at Tuaran, where if a deal is arranged between A and B and B subsequently backs out, A may claim damages which may vary from a gong to a buffalo.

Finally, an affray while a market (*tamu*) is in progress is a serious offence. I take the following case from my diary. I heard the case at Tiong, upper Tuaran, sitting with Government Chief Mendara and other headmen. Gapaya and Kindu, of Tiong village, summoned Awang of Sinulian village. It appeared that Awang had started the affray (at the neighbouring market of Tamu Geruntong) and a sort of free fight had ensued, in which two other parties, Belintau and Randoi had become involved and damaged. The finding of the Court was that the villages of the offending parties incurred the penalties, not the individuals. It sentenced Sinulian village to pay a fine of \$15, of which \$5 went to Government and \$10 to Gapaya and Kindu (the complainants), while Tiong village was fined \$13, \$5 of which went to Government and \$8 to Belintau and Randoi. \$2 from each of the compensating fines was set aside for a goat (one for each village) to be killed on the *tamu* ground.

Although this judgment may sound a trifle involved, the principle was sound. The village community was held responsible for the behaviour of its people at a market : and each party to the affray had committed an offence. But Sinulian was mulcted heaviest, since its man Awang was the aggressor ; and Awang received no compensation. The two innocent parties received compensation for injuries. Gapaya and Kindu (representing Tiong) paid out \$13, but took \$10 back from Sinulian, so that, deducting \$2 for the goat, their share in the rumpus cost them a net \$5, which in the eyes of the Court was equitable, since, although not the aggressors, they had nevertheless contributed to a disturbance of the public peace.

CHAPTER X

HEADHUNTING AND WAR

§ 1

THE custom of performing religious ceremonies with human heads, and of going on the war-path with the definite object of obtaining such heads, is unquestionably one of great antiquity among the North Borneo pagans ; indeed, since the races to which they are allied all practise headhunting, or did practise it until they came under European influence, it is probable that the Muruts and Dusuns were headhunters before they reached North Borneo.

Now that even the remotest districts of the interior are under Government control, headhunting in North Borneo may be regarded as a thing of the past. In the last ten years there have been no serious cases, though that is not to say that spasmodic outbreaks may not still occur from time to time in the Rundum and Pensiangan country where, up to 1912, bitter inter-group and inter-village feuds still existed, scarcely a month going by without a raid.

When the Chartered Company took over the territory headhunting was rife in all the hill districts and continued so to be for many years, gradually being suppressed as fresh out-stations under European officers were established. In the coastal districts, however, it appears to have died out to some extent by 1858, for in that year Sir Spenser St. John says of the Tuaran and Tempasuk Dusuns : " Their feuds are but petty quarrels, and in but one house did I observe heads, and that was at the village of Temparuli in the Tawaran plain. The very fact of girls working in the fields without male protection would prove the security that exists."¹ On the other hand Captain Rodney Mundy, writing of operations taken against the Membakut Dusuns in 1846, mentions finding in the houses " numberless human skulls pendant from every apartment, and suspended from the ceiling in regular festoons."²

¹ *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i. 381.

² *Narrative of Events in Borneo*, ii. 218.

The Objects of Headhunting. Headhunting was never practised on so large a scale in North Borneo as it was among the Sarawak tribes, simply because the pagan communities were smaller ; but its objects were similar, and it was held to confer benefits both on the individual taker of the head and on the community to which the taker belonged.

The taking of his first head denoted a youth's entry into manhood. It proved him to be a tried warrior and he was then entitled to receive his first tattoo marks. The possession of a head also enabled him to win the favour of the young woman of his fancy and to press a suit which would have been less successful had he been unable to show any such material proof of his prowess. But this was not all. The souls of those whose heads had been taken were believed to follow their victors to the spirit world ; and naturally the greater number of heads a man obtained the greater respect was he likely to win from his fellows both in this life and the next. That was undoubtedly the idea which underlay the custom of obtaining the head of an enemy, or of sacrificing a slave, on the death of a chief.

In addition to the advantage accruing to the individual from the possession of a head, there were also definite advantages accruing to the community. In times of sickness or famine a head feast was considered necessary to avert the threatening disaster, and the association between headhunting and a fruitful harvest was close, and probably intimately connected with the primordial idea of a human sacrifice being necessary to placate the spirit of the crops.

I have little doubt that this was the original significance of headhunting. In later days, however, this seems to have been lost. With the object of supplementing my own notes and observations for this chapter I wrote to Mr. G. C. Woolley, then Resident of the Interior, and asked him to see if he could trace any further connection between crops and headhunting in the Rundum and Pensiangan districts, the last strongholds of headhunting in North Borneo. He had a lengthy conference with two Government chiefs of the Pensiangan district, Enduat of Simentalun and Bentangan of Siliu. Both these chiefs fought in the Rundum Rebellion of 1915, and were noted headhunters in their day. According to them, raids had no religious significance. They were made to carry on vendettas, to acquire prowess and, in consequence, to obtain favour with the women. Both denied that there was any direct connection between crops and headhunting. But a raid would not be planned whilst the men were engaged in planting, partly because they were too busy,



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A MURUT HEADMAN

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and partly because reprisals would find them scattered in their fields. They waited until the fields were planted, and then they had leisure. In the same way the chiefs stated that heads were not taken for inaugurating the building of a new house: in fact, no raid could be made whilst the house was building, for fear of a reprisal before the house was ready for defence. But when a house was finished, a raid was customary, not because it was necessary as an essential item in 'house-warming,' but rather because, once the work was done, there was leisure to raid, and enemies, knowing a house was nearing completion, would be on their guard.

From this it appears that in recent times, at all events, serious matters like planting and building took precedence of such recreations as raiding, and that it was looked on as an elementary precaution not to provoke reprisals at inconvenient seasons.

§ 2

The Origin and Development of a Feud. Normally the Murut or Dusun headhunter took heads only from his declared enemies. But the conditions in which he lived made him regard as a possible enemy everyone who was not a declared friend, since he knew that should he wander far afield he ran the risk of having the same measure meted out to him. Moreover, anyone who accepted the hospitality of an enemy's roof was regarded as an enemy, whether he was of their race or not. Mr. F. X. Wittl mentions in his Diary (March 19, 1882), that a Peluan chief in whose house he stayed took the head of Ah Hok, a Chinese trader, who had come from the village of one of the Keningau chiefs with whom the Peluans were at feud. Indeed, this is the reason given for the murder of Wittl himself, who was killed by a tribe of Muruts on the Lagungan River, having come from a country with whom these people were at war.

A headhunting feud might start in a variety of ways. It might begin with a quarrel between individuals. A, on a visit to B's village, might become involved in a drinking bout and be killed. A's relatives would not be long in seeking satisfaction. They would raid B's village and return with, say, three heads. B's village would retaliate and thus would be started a feud that lasted, with varying fury but unremittingly, for generations.

Or A might carry off the wife of B, a man in another village. B would collect his friends and seek a remedy for his injuries by taking A's head, or, if A were not available, then a head or

heads from A's village. Or again, the village of X might have a bad harvest, while its neighbours had good ones. The old men of the village would look about for a reason. Most misfortunes of this kind were attributed for some undetected act of incest and if, upon inquiry, it were discovered that a man of another village had had intercourse with one of their own women to whom he was related, a raid would be made on the guilty man's house. And so these vendettas would go on, like ding-dong games of football in which both sides kept scoring goals and there was no one to blow the whistle.

When a Government Officer was sent to settle the feuds in a headhunting district, he had first to discover the history of each feud. He had to learn how it began, how long it had been going on, and how many heads each side had obtained. This, for example, was the kind of story he would piece together. There was a long-standing feud between a Rundum village and a Tagul village, three days' march apart. The feud had begun on a day when Kabong of Rundum met Mugau of Tagul in the jungle and made bitter allusions to a gong that remained unpaid for. Mugau had resented Kabong's tone. The quarrel had developed into a fight. In a fit of passion Kabong had drawn his knife and cut Mugau down, leaving him mortally wounded on the path.

It had not been long before the Tagul people found Mugau's body. They had soon discovered that Kabong had been his assailant. At once there had been a call to arms. After consulting the liver of a pig and finding it favourable for a raid, a band of warriors had sallied forth, in war-coats decked with shells and round raiding-hats adorned with white cocks' feathers. They had marched along the jungle track in single file, keeping a look-out for omens good or ill. They had heard an omen bird calling, unseen, in the jungle on their right. That was a portent of success and they had pressed on until they reached the river at the foot of the hill upon which the Rundum village stood.

Of Kabong himself they had seen no sign. To the raiders, however, that had mattered little for they had come upon two Rundum men bathing unsuspecting, in the stream. The avengers had fallen upon them, taken their heads and returned in triumph to their home.

Then it had been the turn of Kabong and his friends. They had ambushed a party of Mugau's people as it returned from collecting *damar* and had secured four heads. And so the feud had dragged on, each side raiding in turn and keeping a careful tally of heads lost and heads obtained.

These feuds rendered human life so insecure that the Muruts dared not go abroad except in parties of considerable numbers. Once a feud was fairly started the enemy village was marked down as a kind of human orchard where heads might be collected when required or as opportunity arose. In course of time the feud might spread to other villages, until all those on one river, and perhaps on neighbouring rivers, would be banded together against a common foe, but there was no inhibition against inter-group raiding : Rundum might raid Rundum and Tagul raid Tagul. Often one village, or group of villages, might have separate feuds with half a dozen others.

When every man's hand was against his neighbour, there was a natural disinclination to expose oneself to the stealthy approach of a foe, with the result that only enough crops to satisfy the barest needs of the community were cultivated. A solitary farmer working alone in his clearing offered an easy chance to the raider. His wife and children were fair game for a headhunter, unless protected by armed force. His cattle, if he were foolish enough to invest in such easily raided property, offered only additional temptation. The whole atmosphere was against the practice of the amenities which a less harassed existence suggests. It was better to eke out life on the roots and beasts which could be gathered or killed by stealth in the recesses of the jungle than to risk one's life sowing a crop one might never live to reap.

Gone was all reason for enterprise, for contact with the outside world, for any venture that would take the pagans far afield. They were left to an existence which alternated between a search by day for a sufficiency of food and a watchful night in their gloomy and inhospitable long houses, set high above the ground on piles and hedged and palisaded against attack. Into these fastnesses, for all the world like the old baronial keeps, the little community would retire at evening. For protection against marauders even the pigs were pent beneath the house ; the beaks of the cocks were tied up to prevent their giving away the position of the village in the darkness and it is said that those who suffered from *kurap*, an irritating skin disease which kept the sufferer wakeful, would make quite an income by passing on this antidote to slumber from which, if too profound, the sleeper might never wake.

§ 3

Headhunting is War. From the foregoing it will be seen that headhunting was war. Save on exceptional occasions when

an itinerant trader was killed or a slave sacrificed, heads were obtained in action against enemies with whom the community was at feud. In justice to the pagan it is necessary to stress this fact. It is true that none of the enemy was safe from a raiding-party and that the heads of women, and even of children, were regarded as no less valuable than the heads of men. I am not sure that the North Borneo pagan generally held women's heads in greater estimation than those of men, as Mr. J. H. Hutton states the Sema Nagas do,¹ but the fact that they were considered at least of equal value may well be due to the reasons given by Mr. Hutton: that women's heads were harder to get, as a village in time of trouble sends the men to work where there is danger, while the women work only near the village; that the desire is to cause a permanent reduction of the enemy population and the death of a woman will have more effect on the birth-rate than that of a man and, conversely, that a female head plus a female ghost might increase the fertility of the successful village; and that the desire for the women's hair for ornaments may have contributed. Mr. Hutton does not mention the taking of children's heads, but among the North Borneo pagans the idea of reducing the enemy population might have accounted for this practice also. It must be remembered, too, that the women, although they took no part in actual warfare, were materially responsible for the feuds being kept alive.

This, however, is conjecture. When questioned directly on this point the two chiefs mentioned would not allow that among their people any such reasons prompted the taking of women's and children's heads, but they agreed that a higher name for courage would be obtained if the raiding-party could say they had actually attacked a house and that the trophy they brought back was not, say, the head of a sick man who had been found alone in a jungle shelter. After a big attack, they stated, heads would be taken indiscriminately.²

It has been the custom of writers, even writers who knew the pagans intimately, to harp on the methods of the head-hunter being cowardly and treacherous. Of the Ranau Dusuns, Mr. Frank Hatton says (Diary, April 11, 1882): "The people from Lebu came down on Danao (Ranau) at night, and firing

¹ *The Sema Nagas*, p. 178.

² Referring to the Tengaras Mrs. Cator states definitely (*Everyday Life Among the Headhunters*, p. 105), that women's heads were prized higher than men's owing to their longer hair, and adds that they took the nails as well as the heads.



Photo

A MURUT CHIEF IN WAR DRESS

Man Sing



a volley from their sumpitans into the sleeping house, they rushed in, took seven heads from one house and three from another, one a woman's. During the fight one of the Lebu men fell, and his head, still new, hangs in the Danao house. The method of attack of these Muruts, and indeed of all the tribes, is cowardly in the extreme. It ought to be called *head stealing*, not *head hunting*. They wait in the bush watching the house all day, and about three o'clock in the morning when every one is asleep, they enter the house, take as many heads as possible, and decamp at full speed."

But the truth is that war is a ruthless business, even at the best of times, and we who live in civilized countries can hardly afford to point a finger of scorn at these primitive folk. Cunning has its part in so-called civilized war; the taking of an enemy unawares is one of its accepted principles. Because a soldier snipes and kills an unsuspecting foe he is not held to be a coward among us: and in the late war it was not considered necessary for a raiding-party to warn those who held its objective: if the raiders could take a post by surprise, so much the better; sleeping men met the same fate as those who were awake and, once they had killed as many as possible, the party retired, having carried out their work in exactly the same fashion as Mr. Hatton describes the Lebu men having done. Nor, when it comes to blockade, or to the bombing and bombardment of towns, are the interests of women and children allowed to weigh in modern war.

I mention these facts, not in defence of the pagans' methods, but because, for the proper understanding of their psychology, it is necessary to clear away any canting idea that their nature is any lower than the remainder of mankind when stirred to battle against its fellow man. Admittedly the pagan killed women and children, but he rarely committed barbarities or outrages, and his one form of torture, which consisted in spearing a captive to death,¹ was gentlemanly when compared with those devised by Europeans in the Middle Ages, often under the cloak of religion.

§ 4

Training for War. Among the pagans all adult males were warriors and a young man would go on the warpath soon after he had attained the age of puberty. As a child he would have learnt the use of the blowpipe, beginning with a short pipe and shooting clay pellets at birds and lizards; as he grew older and

¹ See p. 187.

skill developed he would progress gradually to the use of darts, longer ranges and the hunting of larger animals. The use of the sword and shield was taught a boy by his father, and war games, in the nature of fencing, were common amongst children though definite teaching was spasmodic.

The leader of a raid was usually the headman of the village, or, if he were too old, some definitely recognized lieutenant, who might be his son or some other close relative. Although the aim of a raiding-party was to effect a surprise attack, hand to hand encounters did take place and the attackers relied on the sword, while the blowpipe, if warning were given in time, was the weapon of defence.

Methods of Attack. It is generally supposed that primitive people are in the habit of attacking just before dawn, but in

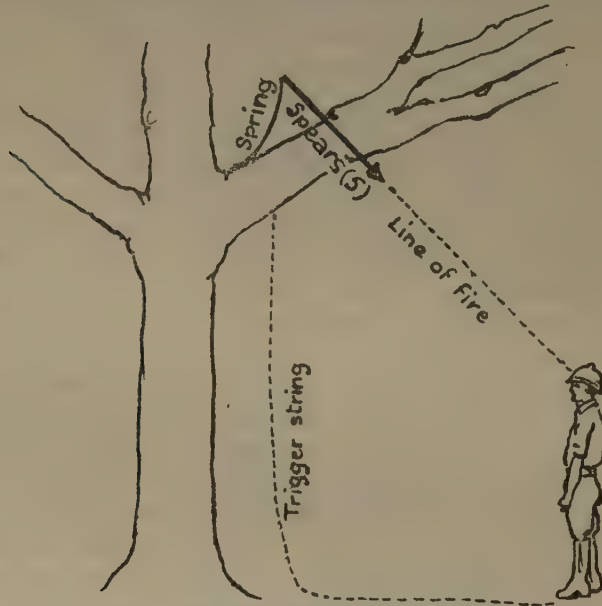


FIG. 10.—Spring Trap shooting five spears.

North Borneo this was not always so, since the approaches to the village that was the objective would be covered with bamboo caltrops (*sudah*) or spear traps (*bingkasan* and *belattek*). These traps have been mentioned already, but besides the ordinary type which is set for pig and deer and when used in warfare wounds the man who sets it off, there are two other types: one which, firing an extra bamboo spear, is designed to wound not only the setter-off, but also anyone who may be ten yards behind him; and another (Fig. 10) which fires a whole bouquet of spears from a tree above down on to the ground below.



Photo

G. Eusell

RUNDUM MURUT WAR DRESS

(From the Author's Collection)

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1, 3. Raiding hats, decked with white cocks' feathers. | 2. Blowpipe darts. |
| 4. Dart-case, | 6. Spear-heads. |
| 5, 8. War coats, front and back views. | |
| No. 8 has a piece of looking-glass in the centre of the cowries. | |
| 7. Bone Hairpin. | 9. Hairpin made from boar's tusk. |

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Other means of defence were huge stones tied by rattans and suspended at points where the hill-side sloped steeply down. The accompanying sketch gives an idea of how this artillery could be directed.

Each rattan could be cut singly at points (a), or three or four, brought to one point, could be cut together at points (b), or

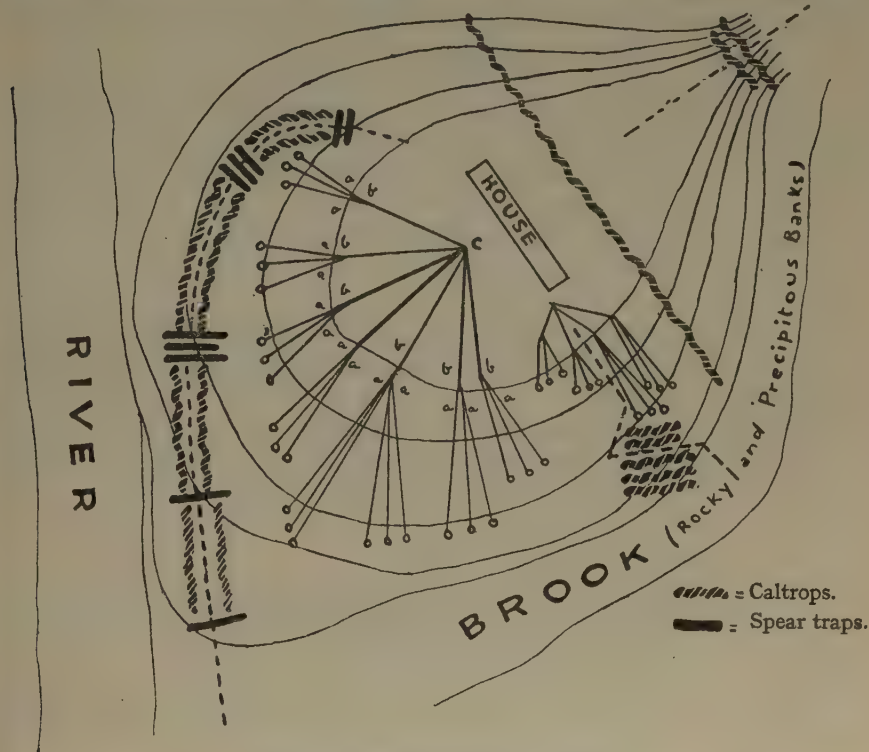


FIG. 11.—Pagan System of Artillery.

again, a grand salvo could be fired by letting the whole lot go with a single cut at point (c). The job of the gunner at point (c) must have been good fun.

Such defences were not easy to negotiate in the darkness. It was more usual for the raiders to creep up to the foot of the hill on which the village stood and to wait until the male inmates had dispersed on the business of the day into the field or the jungle. Then the raiders would either cut off a party of men as they came along the path, or would enter the house, yelling a war-cry (*sorak*) and take the heads of those who remained at home. At times raids would be on a much larger scale. For example, in the upper Padas in 1906, two or three long houses were actually captured, looted and burnt, some thirty people killed and twenty

heads taken, by a raiding-party said to be over 100 strong. But the leader of this raid was a Dayak ex-Ranger from Sarawak named Apai, and besides Muruts he had a number of Dayaks with him.

Headhunting Taboo. The women took no part in actual warfare, but there were definite taboo (*pantang*) which they had to observe. Mr. I. H. N. Evans mentions a few that used to be current among the Tempasuk Dusuns :¹

1. When the men are on the war-path the women must not weave cloth or their husbands will be unable to escape from the enemy, because they will become uncertain in which direction to run. In the weaving of cloth the backward and forward movements of the shuttle represent the uncertain movements of a man running first to one side and then to another in order to escape from an enemy.

2. Women may not eat from the winnowing basket, for the edges of it represent mountains, over which the men would not be able to climb.

3. The women must not sit sprawling about or with their legs crossed, else their husbands will not have strength for anything.

On the other hand :

4. It is lucky for the women to keep walking about, for then the men will have strength to walk far.

The following were furnished by the Pensiangan chiefs referred to :

5. The women might not sleep by day, but only at night, otherwise the men would be heavy, would trip, and fail to see obstacles.

6. They might not eat bananas or limes, lest the men's bones became soft and their muscles slack.

7. They might not drink rice-beer (*tapai*) lest the men when running would be in bad condition and froth at the mouth.

8. They might not eat sugar-cane, for the same reason as 7. This taboo also applied to boys on their first raid, but did not apply to men who had been on a raid before.

9. Each woman must light, every night, a piece of resin-gum (*damar*), and place it on a large stone so that the men might see clearly.

¹ *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 163.

10. Once every night the women had to run, in line, up and down the length of the house and sing :

Lambai nu sangang, lakau nu mawah, kono intatenghah, ka limanan.

Literally translated, this is : " The flight of the hornbill, the walk of the porcupine, like a straight passage, no sickness."

Tatenghah is the long passage way down the centre of a Murut house. *Limanan* means sick, or tired, or wounded. The hornbill is the bird of war, its flight being typically swift and high above jungle obstacles. The porcupine runs swiftly and can charge straight through grass or bush or thorn without getting scratched and its pursuers cannot follow it. The meaning therefore is : " May our men be as warlike and swift as the hornbill, as quick and as hard to follow as the porcupine, may their path be as open and clear as the central passage of their own house, and may they meet with no ill fortune on their journey."

These taboo had to be strictly observed by the wives of men who were away on the raid, by the mothers of such as were unmarried and by the sisters of raiding bachelors whose mothers were dead. There were no taboo for men who remained in the house.

Witti mentions (Diary, March 16, 1882) a Peluan chief who had taken an oath not to touch any woman until he had killed the Keningau chief who had carried off and killed his wife and two daughters. I asked Mr. Woolley if he could obtain any further information on this point and his reply was : " It was very difficult to get the chiefs to understand that anyone would dream of taking such a vow."

§ 5

Procedure on Return from a Successful Raid. As soon as a head had been obtained, the trophy became the centre of religious ceremonial. First of all the head had to be cleaned. Here the procedure varied. The Kiau Dusuns were in the habit of taking a head to the river, where the flesh and hair were cleaned off and the eyes removed. The head was then hung up to dry beyond the reach of pigs and dogs. Once dry, it was taken to a small hut which was the sacred resting-place of all heads taken by the village. A pig was sacrificed, the women performed various rites and all the heads had food and drink offered them.

Among the Rundum Muruts the head was placed in a pot and boiled. The skin and brains were then removed and buried, after which the skull was smoked. Sometimes the tusk of a wild boar was inserted in the nose cavity, giving the skull a most gruesome effect. Some of the groups kept the lower jaw in place by tying it to the skull with rattan; others threw it away and retained the skull alone. While the skulls were being smoked over the fire, women priestesses killed sacrificial pigs and there followed feasting and dancing for four nights. When fully smoked the skulls were either encased in a network of rattan or pierced so that they could be held by a single strand hung up from the rafters of the house, often decorated with the long dried *silad* grass; there they remained from generation to generation, the most treasured possessions of the community.¹

The above notes I gathered whilst in the Rundum district, supplemented by information supplied by Kandoi, now a Government Chief at Tenom. The following is a more detailed account of the procedure on the return of a raiding-party, obtained by Mr. Woolley at my request from chiefs Enduat and Bentangan of Pensiangan:

The returning party signal their approach by shouts, whereupon the house people assemble in or in front of the house, and the heads are received, outside the house, by old women or those who are sufficiently skilled at women's work, such as weaving, or mat-making. There appears to have been no formal examination or initiation ceremony to qualify women as eligible, but an old woman, probably the senior of the "reception committee," would reject and turn away any young woman whom she considered unfit. The women bring the heads in, and for about an hour there is dancing and singing on the dancing-floor, the heads being placed in the centre. Then a pig is killed and cooked, food prepared and brought out, and the meal is eaten in the centre of the house—the public part. Then the war-coats are taken off and hung up and the raiders can go to their own rooms. A boy returning from his first raid has a woman's bead head-dress put on his head when he enters the house, and a little water is poured over his head. There is more feasting and drinking that night, and next day the raiders can resume ordinary life.

There is no custom in the Pensiangan district of giving food to the heads, though it is known as a custom in other places. On the day after the return, the heads are cooked in big iron pots on the ground in front of the house: the headman

¹ *Vide British North Borneo*, p. 334.



Photo

MURUT WARRIORS AWAITING THE ARRIVAL OF H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES. MAY 18, 1922

Geyva Studios



lights a fire and all the household assembles round and sings the head-chant (*kukoi*). The scalp is cut across (like a hot-cross bun) to allow for quick cooking, and when cooked, the skin is peeled off and the heads are taken into the house and placed on racks over the fires in the centre of the house to be smoked and blackened and dried. Then another feast is held, which may go on for a week, till the heads are dry. They are then hung up from the roof and a big feast is held, each man who went on the raid giving a pig.

I have always regretted that during the months I spent in the Murut country, at a time when raids were still going on I did not reduce to writing and get translated one of the Murut head-chants. But those were crowded days and the man on the spot, preoccupied with his daily work, only too often lets slip such chances as I had then. To remedy this defect I asked Mr. Woolley if he could obtain such a chant for purposes of this book, and I make most grateful acknowledgments to him for having done so. It cost him a great deal of time and trouble, and entailed two visits to Pensiangan (the remotest station in North Borneo), but it was worth it, and I give his translation and notes below. The text of the original will be found in Appendix B.

So far as I am aware, this is the first time that such a chant has been reduced to writing and it is well that it should have been preserved before men's memories become dim—as they assuredly will, now that headhunting has become a thing of the past. Those who read it cannot fail to be struck, I think, by its literary qualities, grim though the subject be. Like Tennyson, the Murut bards were masters of paraphrase: and it will be noticed that never once are the gory trophies whose acquisition they are celebrating called bluntly human heads, but are referred to with poetic licence as scarlet fruit or red hibiscus flowers.

The chant is sung by a raiding-party and the women of the house, in alternate stanzas, on the return from a successful raid. It is assumed that the raid was by people of the lower reaches against a village of the upper Tagul. The returning raiders are met on the ground outside the house and the chant is started when they reach the spring dancing-floor (*papan*) in the centre of the house, where all dance round in a circle. In the actual singing, some words are repeated, preceded by the word *chari* (said to be put in as an 'ornament'), and the raiding-cry *koi* or *kukoi* is introduced. The first stanza is given in full: in the following ones the repetitions are omitted.

The text was dictated by Enduat, the Pensiangan chief previously referred to, and Angkob, a Murut headman of the upper Tagul, who recited the men's and women's parts respectively. Now and then they prompted each other, but usually they were fluent. Bentangun, the Government Chief of the Siliu, and Mundau, a Simentalun headman, were also present and were occasionally appealed to. The translation was made with their help and that of Anik bin Patek, Deputy Assistant District Officer, Pensiangan. Some difficulty was found in rendering the precise meaning of obscure passages. Possibly the text has become corrupted in places. The chiefs stated that this text was the form used by Muruts of the lower Siliu, the Tagul and its other tributaries, and the Talankai (or Langungan) and its tributaries from Sapulot to the Dutch Border. It would not be the form used in the Selalir, Telokosan, Rundum, Nebawan, or Mosopo Rivers or the Pohun Batu hills. The Murut text is decidedly phonetic in spelling, and the dialect permits a good many variations for euphony. For example, *baioi*, *dibaiai*, *limbaioi*, *ibaiai*, are all variants of the word meaning 'men.'

TRANSLATION

I. MEN.

Koi, Koi.

The scarlet seeds¹ lie thick
On the boulders² of the Tagul,
Of the Tagul,

5 Koi, Koi.

We have hacked the rice-mortars³
At the foot of the house-steps,
Of the house-steps,
Okoi, Koi.

10 The blood lies in clotted pools
Around the house,
The house,
Koi, Koi.

We throw down the scarlet fruit⁴

¹ The seed pod of the *balaiong* contains small seed a little larger than a pea, of a brilliant scarlet. Seeds, flowers, etc., of this colour symbolize blood. The line therefore means "Blood has flowed freely."

² *Pulo* (Malay *karangan*) is the island or bank of boulders, stones and sand in the middle, or by the side, of rapids in the river. As the rivers are often followed by native tracks, a *pulo* is frequently a resting or meeting place.

³ *Tutuan*. The padi-husking mortar, made from a large log, 4 or 5 feet long, signifies the bodies of the enemy.

⁴ *Kuom* (Malay *kapayang*), a scarlet fruit, means the heads secured by the raiders.

- 15 In the midst of our dancing-floor,
Of the dancing-floor,
Koi, Koi.

II. WOMEN.

- Behold our men folk :
Skilled are they to smite :
20 A row of tough bamboo.⁵
With what blood shall we anoint them ?⁶
O men folk of ours,
Where did ye pluck them,
These red hibiscus flowers ?⁷

III. MEN.

- 25 O ye women,
We went forth into the forest,
We have picked the red hibiscus flowers.
What did ye expect of us,
A flock of the crested hornbills ?⁸

IV. WOMEN.

- 30 We raise the chant duly
Over these coconuts from the upper reaches.⁹
Wearied are our lads,
They are back from the forest.
Their lives hung by but a single strand of hair.
35 Where did ye pluck these ?
We are not presumptuous,¹⁰
Give us the coconuts.

⁵ i.e. They are all alike, all brave and invincible. The hard *sumbeling* bamboo will turn the edge of a sword or knife.

⁶ i.e. How shall we honour them and avert evil omen ? By smearing them with blood of pigs or fowls ? Another translation, connecting *pomunsilau* with *amunsilau* is " what is this red sunset cloud ? " i.e. " Whence comes this blood on your bodies ? "

⁷ The *rolok*, the red hibiscus flower, is another euphemism for the heads.

⁸ *Tominting*, like *tininting* in line 20, signifies a row of similar objects. *Bauk* is the horn or crest on the beak of the male hornbill. As the hornbill is also the war bird, *baukan* means " a great warrior," " a horned one."

⁹ *Piasau*, coconuts=the heads. *Usokan*, " the upper reaches " would become *antongan*, " the lower reaches," if the raid had been made against a down-stream enemy.

¹⁰ A lad who behaved or spoke disrespectfully to an elder or chief would be told " you will be *angilinan*—open to the penalty of presumption." The women who welcomed the raiders back had to be ' seniors ' or ' qualified ' though there was no formal initiation ceremony. " Do not be afraid to hand over the heads to us : we are entitled to receive them." The Malay *tulah* has a similar meaning.

V. MEN.

- O ye women,
 We are accustomed to journey in the forest,
 40 And to carry nuts in our hands.¹¹
 Only let us not be shamed before others :
 We are all as the hard bamboo¹² from which fire is struck :
 Vain would be our return
 Without the red hibiscus flowers.

VI. WOMEN.

- 45 Behold our men,
 None can surpass them.
 Clever are they to smite.
 From daylight to dark will we sing.
 They toiled to seek revenge :
 50 Our bamboo boxes can now rest in peace.¹³
 How can we repay,
 How set at ease the hearts of our men ?
 Up to the headwaters of our rivers will we go
 In search of a recompense.¹⁴
 (*To the heads*).
 55 Thus are your ill deeds to us repaid,
 And over you now do we raise the chant.
 Your long locks are tangled,
 And men brought you by swift marches over the hills.¹⁵

VII. MEN.

- O ye women,
 60 Till night succeeds the day
 Raise chants over these nuts,
 Nuts from the upper reaches of the river.
 We feared lest we should get no share,¹⁶
 Or have to chant over a trophy divided with others,
 65 Our life had all but left us :
 They were like tigers that were gathered there.

¹¹ *Angiling*, to carry dangling from the hand.

¹² *Pomepikan*, the bamboo strip used for striking fire with a stone and tinder.

¹³ *Toruan* is the box made from a joint of bamboo, used for a tobacco-box, etc. It signifies "a man." *Nomitolo*, to lie asleep, apparently means "our dead are now avenged and can sleep in peace."

¹⁴ Rather obscure. "What expenditure (Malay, *blanja*) is suitable for this ?" We will not be content with merely bringing in food that is near the house, but will go far afield to search for dainties for a feast.

¹⁵ "Swift marches" because a raiding-party hurries back as quickly as possible.

¹⁶ *Sentapi*=*Kapunan*, Malay *kempunan*, which has the very special

VIII. WOMEN.

- Our men have found their quarry ;
 The tail-feathers of the hornbills are broken.¹⁷
 Many were the footprints on the river sandbanks,
 70 On the place where the men fought.
 Strewn on the stony banks
 Lie the fallen scarlet flowers.¹⁸
 What is it that floats there
 Slashed like meat on a bamboo grid ?¹⁹
 75 The ants are the sole mourners over
 The men from the upper reaches.
 Do not, then, men of the upper reaches,
 Seek our bamboo boxes.²⁰

IX. MEN.

- Our spears gave many a thrust
 80 There on the stony banks :
 With their aid
 We bring the red rattan head-rings.²¹
 See, O ye women,
 Why do ye lie asleep ?
 85 The nuts are here.
 The men went forth to the jungle
 To seek the hornbills :
 We had word of them,
 We feared naught but the mocking laugh.
 90 Your hornbills flew
 Seeking a chance to sweep upon
 The timid swallow
 In the midst of the clearing.
 We are young and strong,
 95 We can give you cause for the chant.

significance of the misfortune that attends the failure to fulfil desire. Here the meaning apparently is "We feared we might fail to secure a share (of victory) however small or that we might have to chant over a divided trophy," e.g. a lock of hair or a small bone ; the main trophy (the head itself) going to the warriors of another house.

¹⁷ i.e. The enemy's fighting-men have been defeated.

¹⁸ i.e. The dead lie there like fallen flowers of the *kaliarap*.

¹⁹ *Sansag* is the square of plaited bamboo with open mesh on which cut up meat is placed and then suspended over the fireplace until the meat is smoked and dried.

²⁰ "Let this be a lesson to you not to attack our men."

²¹ i.e. The heads. *Lalandau* is a head-dress consisting of a few strands of red rattan fastened together in front with an elaborate knot or rosette.

X. WOMEN.

- A new sun arises,
 Its light strikes around the house.
 In place of the old trees
 Young saplings have sprung up.²²
 100 The nesting bird²³ looks round as it perches
 In search for heads.
 The hornbills alight sideways
 On the beam below the roof-tree.²⁴
 The young sparrows²⁵ lament
 105 As they search for the heads.
 Pity indeed do I feel for them,
 The children of those nuts.
 I would keep up the chant,
 Calling on the nuts,
 110 Were I young and strong,
 Day and night long.

XI. MEN.

- The soft wood has been broken,
 Life for life has been given.²⁶
 Now are our hearts at ease,
 115 The head-rings have come back to us.²⁷
 See, O ye women,
 Ye who wept before,
 We do not journey in vain ;
 Your hearts can have trust in us.
 120 We are a line of *bilian* posts,²⁸
 Afraid only of the mocking laugh
 From amongst the brethren
 Of the ring²⁹ that was lost.
 See, men of the upper reaches,
 125 Our hearts are now at ease,
 Our rings have returned to us.³⁰

²² i.e. The fame of our lads, who are becoming great warriors, is rising like the morning sun about the house : like the young shoots of the *pitandul* they are taking their place in succession to the old men.

²³ i.e. Each woman who is chanting.

²⁴ The hornbills are the enemy, whose heads will soon be hanging in a row from the long beam below the roof tree over the dancing-floor.

²⁵ The sparrows are the children and friends of the slain.

²⁶ Our enemies have been killed to avenge our former dead.

²⁷ We have secured heads in return for those we lost. The meaning is not that the actual heads taken formerly have been recovered.

²⁸ i.e. Stout warriors. The *bilian* tree is the Borneo ironwood.

²⁹ *Sinsing*=a ring, i.e. a precious article, a thing closely in touch with us, "the loved one that was lost."

³⁰ Our dead have been avenged.

XII. WOMEN.

- The nuts hang in pairs³¹ on their stalks,
 The red cloud shows in the evening sky,³²
 Our hearts will be troubled
- 130 When we raise the chant
 If the young voices be not heard.³³
 Steadily can we keep up the chant
 If all the younger folk
 With joyful heart join in.
- 135 Why should the men be wearied
 Seeking the hibiscus flowers
 If all do not join in the chant ?
 Would they then search after nuts ?
 Summon the chief men,
- 140 The men of the lower reaches,
 For they have been broken off
 The topmost shoots of the tough *sumbeling* cane :
 No desire have we
 To pluck the soft bamboo shoots.³⁴

XIII. MEN.

- 145 O ye women of ours,
 Are ye not willing all to join in the chant
 Over the fresh nuts ?
 Try any other men :
 There are none else who could have returned safely.
- 150 Take the nuts.
 " We are hornbills," men say,
 Men of all tribes :
 But none are there who can surpass us :
 We mighty ones can trample them under our feet.
- 155 Behold us men of the lower reaches,
 Afraid only of failure to take a little
 Of the red durian fruit in the upper reaches,
 Afraid of taking but one only,
 A fruit with but a single seed.³⁵

³¹ " Nuts in pairs " refers to the number of heads secured by the raiders.

³² The red sunset cloud is also a symbol of bloodshed.

³³ Lit. " if the young branches of the house are not." An appeal to all in the house to join in welcoming the returning raiders. *Lumosong*, it is said, implies that one section only are singing : *losong*, that there is a full chorus in which all join.

³⁴ Call in all our friends to help celebrate the occasion, for our enemies' best warriors have been slain : it is no minor success over " soft bamboo "—common people or weaklings.

³⁵ A durian fruit is called *sambai* if, when cut open, it is found to have only a single seed inside. The meaning is " we were afraid we might meet with no success, or get only a single head."

- 160 Willing indeed were we to seek ;
 But we should return in vain
 Had we not found an exchange for
 The lost bamboo tobacco-box.
- 165 See, O ye women,
 " Soft *baiasing* wood," men called us
 In the days that are past ;
 But now at length are we
 A line of hard *mengagis* wood.

XIV. WOMEN.

- O ye men of ours,
 170 Away with " soft *seramau* wood : "³⁶
 Different indeed are the men of the lower reaches,
 Skilled in the search.
 We raise the chant again
 Over the husks of the nuts.
- 175 Wearied were our lads
 Whilst they were travelling.
 Join with us in the chant³⁷
 Over the nuts that have come to meet us.
 Only be ye not half-hearted,
- 180 Only join all of ye in the chant.
 Are ye perchance ashamed
 To receive the red hibiscus ?
 Or, because ye are young,
 To join in the chant ?

XV. MEN.

- 185 O ye women,
 This is the end of the chant
 Over the nuts from the upper reaches.
 Yet once more shall the chant be raised
 If hereafter again we pick
- 190 The red hibiscus flowers.

Mensilad Ceremony. Among all the headhunting groups it was customary to feast the old heads periodically and this custom remained long after the settlement of the feuds. There is no doubt that these head ceremonies are still performed occasionally to-day, though without any great display or at a time when the District Officer is likely to be on his rounds.

A writer in the *British North Borneo Herald*, of June 16,

³⁶ Away with the taunt of being mere soft wood.

³⁷ An appeal to the other people in the house.

1926, gives the following description of a *main mensilad* (lit. the play of the *silad* grass), which he had witnessed at Keningau a short time previously :

“ In the days gone by, when warriors hunted heads, newly taken heads were installed in the family at a feast called *mamut*. These revels are no more, but the heads remain and occasionally, when the *kampong* feels rich enough, a *main mensilad* is celebrated to please the heads and to obviate any mischief that might befall through neglecting them.

“ Large quantities of rice-beer are brewed ; relations from other *kampongs* and indeed mere outsiders may join in, if they bring rice-beer with them. Certain guests are invited. The houses are decorated, and in these decorations *silad* grass plays the chief part and from this grass the festival takes its name.

“ The heads are taken down from the rafters and, wreathed in grass, are hung near the rice-beer jars and in the proximity of the gongs, of which there are a great number. Everybody drinks, everybody takes his turn at the gongs, and nearly everybody dances. But it is the women who play the chief part in the dancing. They dress themselves up in all the splendour they can lay hands on. Beautiful dresses, decked with beads and shells, which only see the light of day on important occasions, are proudly worn. Feathered head-dresses (*kapiak*) help to add glory. No young woman is allowed to dance holding a head ; this is the privilege of the older women and such warriors if any who have killed their man in days now past. So the first two days are spent in the huts drinking and dancing.

“ The third day is the great day. Each family supplies a pole lavishly decked with grass which is carried by a chosen representative who also carries the heads. These men are gaily decked with grass worked into hats and jackets and streamers. A procession of these representatives with gongs in front of them dances round the fields while the rest of the people go down to the river. Here the women dance while the men fill hollow bamboos with water. Some of the old women croon songs to themselves. As soon as the procession appears, a wild rush is made, and water from the bamboos is emptied over those who carry the heads and poles. This leads to some good-tempered horseplay in the river. Soon, however, there is a wild rush by the procession through each house ; water-throwers follow, but all eventually settle down in the house once again and go on drinking until supplies fail.”

Mr. I. H. N. Evans, who saw some head rites performed at Tuaran about 1912, mentions¹ that those taking part in the celebrations wore large bunches of *silad* leaves attached to their belts.

I have never been able to discover the exact significance of the close connection between the long broad *silad* grass and the head ritual. Some recent inquiries elicited the following statement from Lance-Corporal Gamotan, a Pohun Batu Murut (Peluan group):

“It has been handed down to us from our fathers’ fathers that proper care must be taken of heads, or they will bring harm to us. Hence the occasional head-feasts and offerings to them of food and *tapai*. *Silad* leaf is essential: it is not a mere representation of hair, which could be done equally well by *lalang* grass, coconut or sago leaf; it is rather a sort of medicine (*ubat*): without it, the heads would be angry and bring harm upon us.”

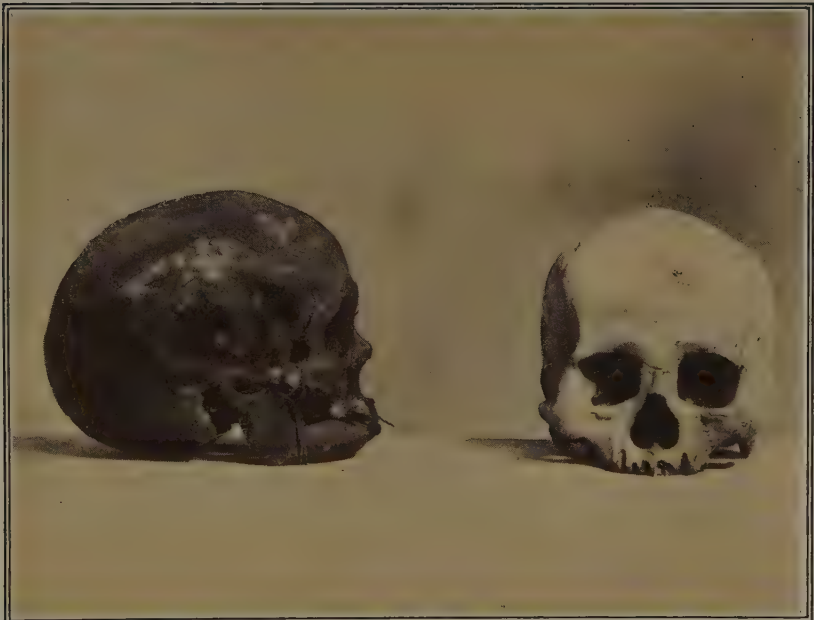
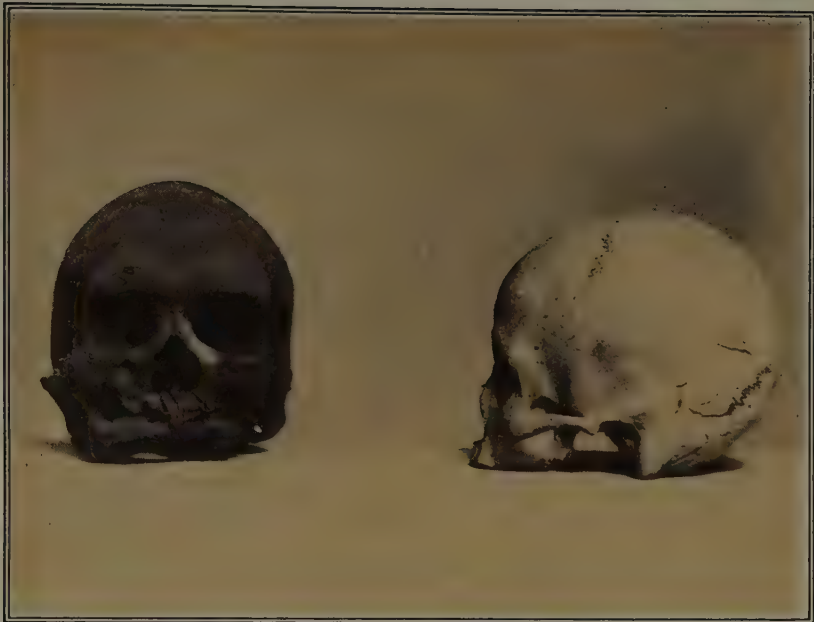
§ 5

Disposal of Heads. The North Borneo pagans were not in the habit of engraving their skulls, like the tribes of Sarawak and Dutch Borneo. If men from more than one house went on a raid and the heads obtained thereon were not enough to go round, one for each house, the heads would be divided. This custom must have been general.

Mr. Woolley states that in the upper Padas villages he has seen bits of skulls hanging up, also skulls with the eye-sockets filled in with wild rubber, cowrie shells or red seeds. Mr. Witt mentions (Diary, March 26, 1882), that in the Keningau country he found a clearing where there was a stone block on which the division of skulls was made. The skulls were never divided into more than four parts, he says, smaller shares being made up in kind. Nearby was a rude scaffolding which served to exhibit the trophies. Mr. Witt adds: “The queerest feature of that spot was a young sugar plant sprinkled with blood and carefully fenced in.”

In Dusun country head-houses were almost invariably built to keep the heads in, but the Muruts hung them up in the village house, either in a row from a long beam with carved ends, or in a group, suspended from rattan rings, over the centre of the dancing floor. Handfuls or tassels of *silad* grass would be attached to each head. Mr. Woolley mentions that in some houses in Pasia, upper Padas, he found heads kept in baskets stored in the private rooms.

¹ *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 162.



Photos

G. Bushell

HEADHUNTERS' TROPHIES

The left skull, which has been smoked, was presented to the author by Ansan, a Rundum headman, as the first head he had taken. It is that of a Tagul Murut named Si Kaus, aged, cephalic index 74.4 mm., nasal index 55.1 mm. The skull shows several gashes near the base and the lower jaw is tied on with rattan. The skull on right is from the Tuaran district and was given the author by Chief Udin. It is the skull of a Dusun male, aged about 18; cephalic index 85.4 mm., nasal index 60 mm.

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Cannibalism. So far as I have been able to discover there are no traces of cannibalism connected with headhunting practices and ceremonial in North Borneo. Questions on this point have always been met with a horrified denial that was probably genuine. If the man from whom the head was taken had been in life a great warrior, a finger might be dipped into the brains while the head was being prepared and licked, or into the pot while the head was cooking, in the belief that thus the courage of the departed warrior might pass to his victor : this, at least, is the common explanation, but the Pensiangan chiefs referred to would not admit this ; according to them the idea was to show courage : " So-and-so is very brave, see how many men's flesh he has eaten." But the merest taste was enough, and there was no question of making a regular meal. The women would not participate, and (among the Rundum group) only the tried warriors. At Rundum, too, a small piece of the liver might be eaten with a similar object. I once received at Keningau a first-hand account of the arm of a young child (who had been killed in a raid) having been boiled and the water drunk to avert sickness ; but this was quite exceptional and the person concerned had been punished by his own people. The important point is that there is no record of the pagans ever having eaten human flesh as food.

§ 6

Feud Settlement. Before the coming of the Chartered Company there was no semblance of organized government in North Borneo, not even a court of arbitration to which warring factions could appeal. But the pagans evolved a recognized method of settling a feud : this was for the two parties to meet at an agreed spot and strike a balance of heads, whereupon the winner would be called upon to pay up blood-money (*basah*) on as many heads as he was to the good. In olden days such payment was made in slaves—normally a man for a man's head a woman for a woman's and a child for a child's. These slaves were sometimes, but not invariably, sacrificed. If, for instance, a headman's child had been killed in a raid, a slave of the same age might be given as blood-money and be treated as a son or daughter and not as a slave : it would be regarded, in fact, as an adopted child. In other cases it was a matter for discussion whether the slave should be kept or killed. It was rather a question of utility and depended whether the house was short-handed for labour or not. More often than not, the slave was kept. If opinions were divided, the advocates for sacrifice

might declare that, if the slave were kept, they would ignore his surrender and make a raid in reprisal as though he had never been given. This, of course, would reopen the feud and the "peace party," if unwilling to incur the risk, would agree to the killing of the slave.

Among the Dusuns sacrifice must have been common in Dalrymple's time, for he says:¹ "When prisoners are taken in war, it is said a general meeting is called, when the chief gives the first blow, and then the victim is struck with weapons on every side." Witt records (Diary, March 19, 1882), that a Keningau chief was offered a slave woman by the Peluans in settlement of a head (that of the Chinese trader already referred to), but sent her back, "on the ground that she was not young enough."

The Chartered Company took in hand the settlement of these feuds, recognizing that no development, or even peaceful trade, was possible so long as human life remained so unsafe. In fact in many districts Government officers were asked by the people themselves to intervene.² In fixing the blood-money buffaloes and gongs were substituted for slaves.

The first recorded settlement of one of these feuds by a European was when, in 1885, Mr. D. D. Daly visited what is now the Tenom district to end the long-standing feud between the Temoguns and the Peluans. He found that the Temoguns admitted having taken twenty-six heads and claimed that the Peluans had taken thirty-one. He arranged a meeting place at Api on the banks of the Padas River and thither, on June 21, 1885, came the Peluans. Mr. Daly's account is well worth quoting.³

"I had turned into my mosquito curtain, around which the sentry was walking his rounds, when a Peluan chief of the west bank, named Si Dolamit, a fine able-bodied fellow, arrived with ten followers. All carried spears, blowpipes, and sheaths of poisoned arrows, and they had two rifles, muzzle-loading Enfields, stamped 'Tower 1867.' He brought me presents of water melons and bananas, for which he received cloth and brass wire. His neck was encircled by many necklaces of coloured beads, and other bands of them passed round his head and forehead. He evinced great interest in my guns, as he is

¹ *A Plan for Extending the Commerce of this Kingdom and of the East India Company*, p. 45, 1769.

² W. H. Treacher, *British Borneo*, p. 135.

³ From a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, December 12, 1887.

a great deer hunter, and says he cannot live without venison or wild pork every day.

"Another Peluan chief, named Si Ongandey, a bold warlike-looking fellow, carrying his blowpipe and spear as though he was afraid of no man, arrived to take part in the peacemaking. He wore numerous bead necklaces, and on his breast hung a number of charms, birds' beaks, shells, bears' claws, teeth, and bones of vampire bats; he had fifteen followers and a few women and girls. The latter were afraid to come across the river, until Si Dolamit sent two of his wives across in my boat to fetch them. It should be noted that the bringing of women is a sure sign of peaceful intents among wild tribes.

"Then the ceremony of taking oaths of peace and friendship commenced. The site on the high bank of the river under dark-foliaged fruit trees was picturesque. The North Borneo flag was hoisted on a staff beneath a wide-spreading *langsat* tree, the clusters of its luxuriant fruit hanging like huge bunches of grapes. Behind the flagstaff stood three constables, and I stood in front with a few chiefs and traders; the Muruts sat cross-legged on the grass on one side, facing their ancient enemies the Peluans.

"Then the Murut chiefs commenced taking the oath by chopping at a stick or sapling with great vigour, repeating the words of the oath in a loud voice, until towards the end they appeared quite excited. A Murut chief took the oath and then a Peluan, turn about, and as each oath takes six or seven minutes to repeat, it took a long time. The following is a *précis* of the form of oath, each mark *x* denoting a chop at the stick, until it is finally chopped up into little bits.

"Form of Murut and Peluan oath: 'I follow the authority of the Government of the British North Borneo Company *x* The Sandewar *x* and the Peluan *x* people are now of one mind *x* If I kill a Sandewar [if a Peluan is swearing] man *x* when I go to the water may I not be able to drink *x* when I go to the jungle may I not be able to eat *x* may my father die *x* may my mother die *x* may my wife die *x* may my children die *x* may my house be burned down *x* may the padi not grow in my fields *x* may a crocodile swallow me *x* may the eggs never be hatched in my fowl-house *x* may I never catch a fish when I go fishing *x* may my life be ended *x* I cut this stick *x* as if I chopped my own head off *x* the Great Spirit is my witness *x* may this stick grow into life again *x* if ever I kill or take any more heads *x* and I follow all the customs of the British North Borneo Company *x* and I take this oath with a sincere heart *x* and I shall pay the poll tax of the Company *x*.'

"As the North Borneo flag fluttered above, these chiefs frequently pointed at it, and when the swearing of both Muruts and Peluans for everlasting peace was concluded all were friends and 'long-lost brothers.' . . .

"An amusing incident, illustrating the character of the people, took place whilst the Murut chief Panglima Prang (i.e. commander-in-chief) was taking the oath. He was chopping away at the stick, repeating the oath in a loud voice, and when he came to the part 'may my wife die' (if ever I take another head), he stopped short and exclaimed with a grim smile, 'I have no wife, you Peluans cut off her head long ago;' and the Peluans gave a shout of laughter in which he joined, the crowd around rolling about on the grass convulsed with merriment. This would denote that the retaliation in taking heads does not proceed from a spirit of affection for the departed relatives, but rather from a sense of revenge or *vendetta*, engendered by a feeling that shame has been cast upon the tribe by losing one of the family at the hands of an enemy."

This work of settling the pagan head-feuds was not finally completed until 1914. The Rundum district was the last in the territory to be settled and it chanced that I was closely connected with the termination of these age-long feuds, as District Officer, Rundum, in 1913, with Mr. A. B. C. Francis as my Resident.

At that time the position of the people on the Tagul River was an invidious one, for when the feuds in what was known to be our own territory had been settled and the warring villages had sworn allegiance to Government and had undertaken to raid no more, they were still harassed by their powerful enemies on the Selalir and Kilisun Rivers, under a chief called Mukang. The boundary between Dutch and North Borneo was then being delineated, and until the Boundary Commission had completed its labours it was uncertain whether the Selalir folk were in Dutch territory or in ours, but they were believed to be across the Border, so that it was impossible for us to send police to their villages, for fear of "international complications."

Mukang and his friends consistently raided the villages on the Tagul River. The Rundum Muruts had promised to abstain from retaliation, but we on our part were in the galling position of not being able to give them adequate police protection or to take any action against the raiders, for, although patrols were continually on the move, the Selalir parties easily eluded them, waiting to attack until a patrol had left the neigh-

bourhood and then, having taken a head or two, slipping back over the supposed Border before they could be caught.

Finally it was decided that we must make an effort to persuade Mukang and his friends to come to terms. Messages were accordingly despatched, inviting the Selalir and Kilisun people to meet us and the Tagul folk on the Sidalum River—a day's march from the Selalir—that the feuds might be settled on a certain day. The messengers carried presents of gaily-coloured coats, small looking-glasses, beads and soap as token of goodwill, and a *tembuku* with as many knots in it as there were days to run before the meeting date.

On March 30, 1913, we reached the Sidalum with a Dayak sergeant and four native police, and camped on a hill overlooking the river. The 31st was the day appointed for the conference and in the morning the Tagul chiefs came in with their people, but of Mukang there was no sign. Thinking that bad omens had possibly prevented him from starting we decided to wait until the next day, hoping for the best.

But Mukang did not come. I have sometimes wondered since whether he took exception to the gift of soap. At all events he returned the presents saying that when he had need of them he would ask for them. He refused to meet the Resident at Sidalum, but sent word that if we would go to visit the Selalir he and his friends would be pleased, for then they would make hairpins out of our shinbones and gouge our eyes out, as they had long wanted to know what the eyes of a white man were really like.

So that was that, and, failing a peace conference, we organized some sports for the natives who had come in, rather than send them away wholly disappointed, and killed the buffaloes we had brought with us for the oath-swearing ceremony, the essential of which is that stones be planted as witnesses of the oaths of peace and sprinkled with blood.

When the Boundary Commission's report was published, it was found that the Selalir was within our sphere of influence after all, and the late Mr. N. B. Baboneau visited Mukang, whose bark turned out to be worse than his bite, and eventually settled the Tagul-Selalir feuds. Since then there has been no organized raiding in North Borneo, although even now when one enters a Murut house one may still see a cluster of smoked human skulls dangling from the rafters above.

§ 7

The Murut Rebellion. As I have shown, headhunting feuds were small wars waged between villages or groups of villages.

But there have been occasions when the pagans have banded themselves into larger combinations against the Government, usually owing to a single malcontent coast Mohammedan, who had secured a following. Such was the redoubtable rebel Mat Saleh, who raised an intermittent rebellion from 1897 until his death in 1900. Mat Saleh's following among the pagans was confined to the Dusuns, and the Government had no trouble with the Muruts on a large scale until 1915, when the whole of the Rundum district broke out in rebellion. It is unnecessary here to give the details ;¹ but an outline of the events will show the pagans' methods of making war on a larger scale than head-hunting raids had accustomed them to.

The extraordinary part of the affair was that the Muruts, who had never been known to combine their forces before, became united against the Government, and under their own, not alien, leaders. Such unity must have been the result of the Government's very action in settling the feuds and it was the outcome of a common grievance against enforced (though paid) labour on bridle paths and transport work, a grievance that, there is reason to believe, was fanned to flame by one or two Dayak traders who operated from Dutch Borneo and did not like the way the jungle produce trade was passing out of their hands into those of the Chinese traders at Rundum Station.

The first intimation of trouble was on February 13, when Mr. Baboneau, who was District Officer, was surprised and nearly killed while camping on the Tagul River. Mr. Baboneau marched on to Pensiangan, the farthest out-station of the territory, and then returned to Rundum by forced marches, taking the little garrison with him. The rebels burnt the Station shortly after he left and reinforcements were sent down to Rundum. The Muruts did not attack Rundum Station until March 6, when they came down the hills in strength just before dawn, having massed during the night. The attack was beaten off and the rebels then retired to a fort they had constructed on a hill near the Silangit River, two days' march from Rundum. Here they remained until compelled to surrender to a Government force, under Resident Mr. H. W. L. Bunbury, six weeks later.

The description of the fort given in Mr. Bunbury's report is worth quoting to show the ingenuity of the pagans in field engineering : " The fort consisted of seven underground houses, closely connected with each other ; in the case of one at least the central passage had rooms leading out of it, dug out of the sides.

¹ A full account of this and other outbreaks against the Government will be found in *British North Borneo*, Chap. VII.



Photo by courtesy of

PENSIANGAN

The remotest out-station in North Borneo, a few miles north of the Dutch Border.

H. W. L. Bumbury



The earth so excavated was piled up to either side, and over it was placed a roof of bamboo, earth and wood. In addition to these underground houses were many *atap* huts with pits dug under them and loopholes covering the approaches. The hill slopes were guarded with *udang* and *sudah* (long and short sharpened stakes) thickly planted, a fence and innumerable loopholes."

The ground rose steeply behind the fort and the whole work extended along the spur for a distance of 300 yards, while a covered trench gave the inmates access to a small stream. With women and children, the garrison numbered nearer two thousand than one. The only piece of artillery was a heavily built muzzle-loader gun of large bore, which fired showers of nails, bits of wire, stones and broken telegraph insulators.

The Rundum Rebellion perfectly demonstrates the methods of the pagans in warlike operations on a large scale. First comes a raid or an ambush ; then a retirement to a previously constructed fort, usually situated on a hill at the junction of two streams. In the construction of ordinary defence works the Muruts deny the influence of foreign teaching, saying that they work on the traditional lines of their own people. The Pensiangan chiefs, however, admitted that the idea of the underground forts made during the Rundum Rebellion was given them by the Dayaks who were with their party. The Dusuns certainly owed much, directly or indirectly, to the coast Mohammedans in the construction of their forts, which were often elaborate and of considerable strength and of an earthwork type unknown to the Muruts.

It is curious that pagans in a state of revolt should invariably retire on such strongholds, for, once invested, it is only a matter of time before the water supply is cut off and the garrison is forced to surrender ; whereas if the rebel leaders elected to keep their forces mobile they could carry on a guerrilla warfare in the jungle for months. Doubtless the women and children present a problem to the native strategist and the fear of losing personal valuables such as jars, brassware and gongs, must also induce him to concentrate at a central point. Possibly, too, he may feel it saves him from taking the initiative, and the difficulty the pagan has in coming to a decision, illustrated in the time that elapsed between the attack on Mr. Baboneau and the actual assault on Rundum Station, is also very characteristic of the primitive mind. Had the attack been delivered promptly after the initial move had been made, nothing could have saved the Station and the consequences would have been very much more serious than they were.

CHAPTER XI

BELIEFS AND CEREMONIES

§ I

Birth. I have been able to find little ceremonial connected with birth among the pagans, and it is unlikely that much exists. The birth of a child is regarded as an ordinary event, nothing to make a fuss about : no question of the supernatural arises. Couvade, so far as I have been able to ascertain from personal inquiries and through the medium of those who know the country well, is not observed in North Borneo, although it exists among the Land and Sea-Dayaks of Sarawak ; even the taboo common among the Sarawak tribes have few parallels in North Borneo. Certain taboo (*pantang*) are laid upon men during the period of their wives' pregnancy : they are forbidden, for example, to do the things which the wife has to give up. According to Mr. C. D. Martyn, various foods are taboo to the husband. These taboo may, I think, be taken as general.

The following custom has been noted among the Tuaran Dusuns and may exist elsewhere : if a woman has given birth to a child, no stranger may enter her room until the baby is two weeks old ; the penalty is payment of compensation, such as a fowl.

Names. The choice of a child's name is not influenced by personal associations which, in other countries, suggest the selection of a relative's name, or that of some public personage. A whim may suggest one of the names in common use. The following are some examples :

Male

Pulangga
Mugau.
Kandoi.
Ansan.
Tabiko.
Korok.
Dualis.
Pamiang.
Lemadas.
Saung.
Tabuboi.
Kuntup.

Female

Papusan (" The youngest ")
Ipalu.
Bepala.
Kilas.
Taguli.
Lingka.
Gantis.
Kurdut.
Tambatan.
Buntai.
Kaba.
Gurod.



Photo

MARUDU DUSUNS

Dorothy Rutter

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Sometimes an incident of public importance or of a more personal nature may guide the choice. Tinggi (tall) and Kurus (thin) are common Dusun names. Buangkut (toad) is often given as a name because the mother encountered a toad while pregnant. Such names as Bangsat (insect) and Tiong (mina-bird) may be due to similar causes.

Normally only one name is given and this is usually retained through life, though in some cases, to avert ill-fortune, or to change ill-fortune to good, a change is made in later years, the idea being, I think, to disguise the person from the evil spirit which is pursuing him.

Among the Muruts generally, if a man named, say, Pengobal dies, it is a custom for anyone else bearing the name to change it, the idea being that the name is 'dead.' The name can, however, be given to children, or assumed by other men, after this death.

Among those groups which are in closest touch with the coast there has grown up the custom of the parent taking the name of the eldest son with the prefix Taman—or Ma—, father of—, mother of—. This may be due to Chinese influence.

There is one widespread taboo connected with names. This forbids a man to utter his own name, or those of his parents, grandparents, or parents-in-law. For convenience, therefore, the pagans avoid the names of the family circle when preparing to name their children. The taboo is strongest when a man is asked to give his own name, and he will usually turn to a bystander and sign to him to oblige. When a man goes into the witness-box and faces the first inevitable question from the magistrate: "What is your name?" a good-natured police sergeant will usually answer for him. The idea underlying this taboo is probably that a man's name is part of his person and to mention it is equivalent to giving away part of himself. The same idea possibly underlies the reluctance of natives to be photographed.

§ 2

Marriage.—As I have shown in the previous chapter, marriage among the pagans is regarded as a civil contract. The ceremonial noted in connection with it appears to have little or no religious significance; and nothing in the nature of an oath has been observed in the wedding ceremony.

Usually the marriage ceremony is a simple affair. Among the Rundum Muruts the betrothed pair stand holding hands on the dancing-floor that is in the centre of every Murut house,

while relatives and guests move round them, singing. The couple then enter their room and eat together, the ceremony being completed on their return by the assembled company drinking largely of rice-beer (*tapai*).

A Peluan's account states that a girl would be much too shy for this : according to him, when all the preliminaries have been settled, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house, and in due course a jar of *tapai* is produced : two of the usual reeds or straws are inserted and the bridal pair are called and told to drink together, their heads meeting over the mouth of the jar. A shy girl would only just sip the liquor, and retire hurriedly. When food is ready (it would be set out in one of the rooms, not in the open public part of the house), the two are told to eat together from one plate or bowl. Here again, a girl might have only a mouthful or two, for form's sake, whereas an older woman might make a substantial meal. The bridegroom may remain a day or several days at the bride's house, but he lives and sleeps with the other bachelors : the bride sleeps with the other women or with her mother. Then the bridegroom takes her to his home, and they start living together as husband and wife, though until she settles down other women may help her prepare her husband's food and perform the usual household routine.

Among the Tagals the ceremony is more elaborate and, for the bridegroom, extremely expensive. Here the payment of the *brian*, in instalments, forms part of the actual wedding ceremony. The rice-beer plays an important part in the proceedings, the marriage being considered to have been celebrated when the bridegroom and bride drink of the liquor the latter has prepared. At this stage the bridegroom is expected to pay one headcloth, one loincloth (*chawat*), one coat, one bead necklace (*bungkas*). The bridegroom's father then 'wines' with the father of the bride or her principal relative, and another loincloth is handed over. Then the mothers drink together, and one piece of cloth, a belt of beads, a bead head-dress and a jar are paid. The bride next gives her consort a token consisting of rice and pickled fish, whereupon two cooking pots, one gong (*tawak*), a gun or blowpipe, and sundry small articles are paid by him. The bride gives a second token—forty bamboos of pickle, which is the signal for twenty strings of beads to be produced. If the bride gives a further token of a pig, this must be acknowledged by a gong. The bridegroom is expected to give his newly acquired brothers-in-law presents of a headcloth, loincloth and a necklace each ; they may present him with a



Photo

N. E. Baboucau

A KOLUR WOMAN



token in the shape of a fowl, to which he must reply with a jar. Nor is that all, for every relative of the bride at the feast expects to receive a present of some kind—trivial articles such as knives.

Among the Kolurs there is a similar orgy of present-giving and a rather more elaborate ceremony. When the bridegroom arrives at the house of the bride he pays twenty strings of beads and one gong ; and later, on the rice-beer being prepared, a knife and a pig. The bride's father plants in front of his house a stick of sugar-cane which the bride cuts down and gives to the bridegroom to eat. The couple then enter the house together ; the bridegroom gives the knife used for cutting the cane as part of the *brian* and, in addition, one gong.

After the wedding feast the bridegroom pays twenty strings of beads, three jars and two gongs and then takes the bride to his own house, giving another gong as he goes down the ladder of his father-in-law's house. If the path should cross a river, another gong must be paid. On arrival at his own house, he pays two strings of beads or a cloth as he goes in, and another jar at the second feast that follows. After the feast the bride accompanies her husband to his room and as he "opens the blanket" he must pay yet another gong or another twenty strings of beads. The couple spend two nights at the bridegroom's house and on the third day return to the house of the bride, when the final payment of a gong and a jar must be made.

These customs are unusual and appear to be peculiar to the groups mentioned. Procedure is generally much simpler. In Tambunan the bridegroom visits the bride's house on the appointed day, and, after a feast which may last one day or two, according to the position of the families concerned, takes her to his home, depositing before he goes such proportion of the *brian* as has been agreed upon for immediate payment.

In Papar, when the bridegroom and his friends approach the bride's house, her attendants bar the door and a mimic battles ensues, a symbolical custom possibly adopted from the Mohammedan tribes. Sometimes the bride escapes during the struggle to another house and her stay there may extend from a few hours to a month, according to her coyness ; during this period the bridegroom may not follow her, and must possess his soul in patience, but the wedding feast proceeds. After marriage the bridegroom usually lives in the bride's home and, until he sets up house himself, becomes the liegeman of his father-in-law.

In the Tunku and Segama areas an exception to the general custom is found, the bride's parents taking precedence of the bridegroom's, and the latter having to obey their orders and work for them.

In Tuaran, when the children of well-to-do folk marry, an incantation is performed by a priestess, but the actual sign of marriage is the eating of rice from the same plate. The plate is placed between the pair, who sit opposite to one another. The man first takes a little rice. Then a woman in attendance turns to the bride the part of the plate from which the bridegroom has helped himself, and she takes rice in her turn. This is repeated seven times, and the ceremony is gone through both at the house of the bride's parents and at that of the bridegroom.¹

In the Kudat district, a relative of the bride makes two balls of rice, giving one to the bride and one to the bridegroom, and the wedding ceremony consists in the couple placing the rice in each other's mouths.

In the Tunku and Segama districts as soon as the bride is seen to take some rice from the bridegroom's dish at the feast, the marriage is considered complete ; no work is done for three days and the pair spend their first night together at the bridegroom's house ; then the bridegroom's relatives, with the newly married couple, spend the following night at the girl's house, which becomes the young couple's home. Before leaving the relatives of the bridegroom pay \$2 to the bride to bring her good luck and to keep away evil spirits.

In the Tempasuk district generally the essential part of the ceremony is not an interchange of rice, but of betel-nut, the bridegroom popping a quid into the mouth of his bride, who gives him one in return.

Among all the groups the expenses of the wedding are, as with us, borne by the bride's parents and the wedding feast takes place at their house.

Death. When a man is dying the relatives will hammer upon the posts of the house and call upon his name, in the hope of inducing this spirit to remain in the body. Mr. H. M. Ince tells me that he was present at the death of the son of Bangau, a noted chief of the upper Padas (Bol group) : a chicken's throat was cut and placed under the dying man's nose, and at the moment of death a loaded gun was put in his hand and his finger made to pull the trigger. The beating of gongs and the wailing of women is the customary mode of announcing that a

¹ Evans, *Religion, Folklore and Custom in North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, p. 13.

death has taken place. The corpse is washed and dressed before interment. The dead man may even be placed in a sitting posture and have his needs ministered to and advice given him, as though he were alive.

Frank Hatton describes (Diary, April 12, 1882), how he saw a corpse sitting dressed in this way, in the Marudu country : " A cigarette was being held to his mouth ; and a brass box containing betel, etc., was open before him. His friends were seated around, and were telling the dead man not to go to the right or the left, as they were the wrong roads, but to keep straight ahead and ' that is the way to Kinabalu.' " This ceremony lasted for twenty-four hours, when the deceased was buried with all his belongings.

Burial. Both the Muruts and Dusuns are accustomed to bury their dead in jars, following the widespread practice among the Borneo tribes. The Rundum Muruts, however, first bury a corpse in a wooden coffin and after a year or so open the grave and place the remains in a jar, renewing and repairing the *atap* shelter over the grave.

Normally, interment in the jar follows death. The value of the jars, which are of Chinese origin and about four feet high, varies in accordance with the position of the deceased's family, but a man during his lifetime may express a desire to be buried in a particular jar and his wish would be respected. The jar is carefully broken to allow the corpse to be placed inside, doubled up, and is then sealed with gum. The mouth of the jar may be closed with a gong.

In most districts it is customary to keep the jars in the house for a period up to seven days after the corpse has been placed within, during which time the wake is celebrated with feasting and drinking.

The jar is then interred in the earth near the village ; sometimes it is isolated, sometimes in a graveyard. Witt mentions (Diary, March 18, 1882), that at Limbawan (Keningau), it was the custom to bury the dead under the house or immediately out of doors and Whitehead, writing of the Kiau Dusuns,¹ says that young children were occasionally buried under the house. This custom is exceptional.

In Dusun country, after the jar's removal from the house the planks on which it has rested may be torn up and thrown into the jungle, and the bottom of the jar is broken before interment in the earth. One may suppose that the origin of the latter custom was to allow the spirit to escape, if it had not

¹ *The Exploration of Mount Kinabalu*, p. 73.

already quitted the body at death, but on inquiring about this once at Pau, in the upper Tuaran, I was told, with a cynicism which was quite artless, that the bottoms of the jars were broken to prevent people using them again.

I have it on the authority of Mr. F. W. Fraser that, according to the Keningau Muruts, whatever is eaten and drunk at the wake becomes, as it were, the capital with which the deceased starts life in the next world. Hence if a sack of rice is eaten and two buffaloes are killed and a jar of liquor is consumed, the deceased will arrive with a sack of rice, two buffaloes and the jar of liquor. If a man dies when his relatives are short of rice, the jar in which the body has been placed is buried with the top out of the ground and is not finally covered with earth until the relatives are in a position to hold the wake.

The coast Dusuns, especially the Papar group, and also the Tambunan group, make elaborate shelters for their graves—wooden structures, roofed with *atap*, and decorated with crude scroll work in red on a white ground and flags of red and white cloth. Food and drink are left beside the grave, together with the deceased's personal belongings. In the accompanying photograph of a Papar grave an open umbrella will be seen surmounting the structure. This is to keep the spirit of the dead man dry on his last journey. A man is commonly buried on his own land and it is the duty of the heir to keep the grave in repair. This is the coastal custom and may be due to Mohammedan influence. Mr. Bunbury has pointed out to me that Tambunan graves may not be repaired.

If the deceased has no suitable land a portion is borrowed (usually from a relative), but this conveys no right of possession, though *sagit* is paid to the owner.

When the jar has been interred and the grave filled in, the earth is sprinkled with the blood of a newly killed fowl, the funeral party drink *bahr* or *tapai* by the graveside and then return to the house. Before entering it, those who have taken any active part in the burial are careful to wash, and the house-steps are slashed with knives to prevent the return of the dead man's spirit.¹

The above procedure may be taken as generally applicable to the pagans as a whole, but particularly to the well-to-do coastal Dusuns. Families who cannot afford jars will bury their dead in coffins made of wood or sago-bark, and place a small jar upon the grave to satisfy custom. At Papar, the heir must pay *sagit* to the grave after performing the funeral rites,

¹ *Vide British North Borneo*, pp. 303, 304.



Photo

G. C. Woolley

DUSUN GRAVE, PAPAR

The scroll design is in vermillion on white ground. The structure is erected over the spot where the burial-jar has been interred.



and until he has done this may not engage in his ordinary work. Nor may he enter any house before returning to his own, under penalty of *sagit* of one pig and one fowl.

I once encountered at Papar a custom I have not noted elsewhere, though it may exist. Walking along the path from the old Residency to the office, I saw a jar that had obviously just been disinterred from a grave. Inquiries showed that the relatives of the deceased person who was buried in the jar had been troubled with persistent sickness. This was attributed to the deceased's remains not being comfortable and accordingly the grave had been opened and the jar removed and set beside it. A few days later it was replaced. This was, of course, permissible by custom. But all the pagans view the desecration of graves with the utmost horror, and at Papar the former punishment was to bury the offender alive in the grave he had violated.

In parts of the Tuaran district jars are dug up and used again for burial purposes, a custom which I believe to be quite unusual. Mr. Bunbury tells me that in the Suk area (Peluan group) solid wooden coffins may sometimes be seen exposed. They are placed on a slant with a hole at the lower end for the 'juices' to escape and subsequently may be opened for the corpse of a relative, the bones of the first occupant being pushed into a corner to make room.

It may be noted that the Tambunwas, the Rungus, the Marudu Dusuns and the Dusuns of Banggi Island also bury their dead in wooden coffins, not jars. They bury with the corpse gongs, knives and other useful articles, but first break them, asserting that the deceased will find them whole on his arrival on the slopes of Kinabalu.

In the birds' nest caves of the East Coast, too, coffins made of ironwood (*bilian*), carved with grotesque figures, have been found on ledges of rock at considerable elevations.¹ In one cave Mr. C. V. Creagh (Governor of North Borneo from 1888 to 1895), discovered about forty of these coffins, artistically carved with figures of buffaloes, crocodiles, lizards and snakes. They contained skeletons of men, women and children, and also blowpipes and spears, and articles of Chinese and other pottery, with brass ornaments of foreign and other workmanship. The coffins ornamented with protruding heads of buffaloes contained male skeletons, while those with snakes and crocodiles contained those of women and children.²

¹ W. B. Pryer, *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xvi, p. 232.

² *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xxvi, p. 32.

The Tambunwa group use camphor (found on the north and east coasts), for embalming their dead. Mr. Pryer, in the article quoted, mentions this, and if I am not mistaken it was Mr. R. M. O. Cook who once gave me information which substantiated this fact. Beyond learning that the legs of the mummy are thrust into the body which is painted blue, I have not been able to obtain any further information of this custom. A detailed account of the process and method of embalming, so foreign to the usual procedure of most groups, would be of great interest and I trust that some time one of the District Officers may make inquiries on this subject.

Sacrifice. There is no doubt that it was formerly a common practice to sacrifice a slave or slaves on the death of an important chief, the idea being that the spirits of those so sacrificed would accompany the deceased to the spirit world. Writing of the Dusuns, Dalrymple says¹ that they "think the passage for men into paradise is over a long tree, which, unless they have killed a man, is scarce practicable, perhaps for want of slaves' assistance." The practice was general throughout the Borneo tribes,² and Mr. I. H. N. Evans is probably right in suggesting³ that this is the explanation of the carved wooden figures that are sometimes to be seen beside a grave.

A custom which apparently was not so widespread was the practice of *sumunggup*, common among the Muruts, until suppressed by the Chartered Company. This consisted of tying up a slave, or prisoner, to one of the house-posts, or imprisoning him in a bamboo cage, after which the whole community danced round him, prodding him to death with spears and knives, and with each prod giving the poor wretch a message to be delivered to a departed relative or friend in the spirit world. Referring (I think) to the Tengara group, Mr. W. B. Pryer stated:⁴ "There was even more difficulty in getting them to abandon this custom than there was to leave off headhunting. Down in the south-east (presumably among the Tawau group) the way of managing *surmunggups* (*sic*) is for a lot of them to subscribe till the price of a slave is raised. He is then brought, tied up, and all the subscribers grasping simultaneously a long spear, it is thrust into him at once."

Elsewhere⁵ Mr. Pryer describes (from hearsay) a Tambunwa

¹ *A Plan for Extending the Commerce of this Kingdom and of the East India Company*, p. 45.

² *Vide* Ling Roth, i. 157.

³ *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 129.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁵ *Diary*, February 27, 1880.

sumunggup. The victim was a bought slave and was tied up with his arms outstretched. The people danced round him. "At last the head man approached, and wishing him a pleasant journey to Kina Balu, struck his spear about an inch deep, and no more, in the man's body; and another then said, 'Bear my kind remembrance to my brother at Kina Balu,' and did the same, and in this way, with messages to deceased relatives at Kina Balu, all those present slightly wounded the man. When the dance was over they unbound him, but he was dead." Mr. Pryer adds that in his day the groups in contact with officers of the Chartered Company had abandoned the practice in so far as they substituted a pig for a human slave.

§ 4

Suicide. The pagans of North Borneo are essentially fatalists in their outlook on life, yet, in apparent contradiction, they have frequent recourse to suicide as a means of ending trouble. The system of registration of vital statistics is only of recent institution in North Borneo and is, admittedly, imperfectly carried out. It is therefore difficult to adduce any detailed evidence as to the proportion of suicides to the total deaths. There is, however, no room for doubt that the cases are far more numerous than is generally supposed and certainly more numerous than would appear to be reasonable. The pagan leads a life which is hard and rigorous physically, but he lives in a country and under conditions where the mental worries of civilization find no place. Clothing, food and housing are all ready to his hand, provided by nature, if he chooses to take them. His wants, outside those prime needs, are few and easily supplied, taxation of a direct kind is infinitesimal and, to all outward appearance, he is carefree. There seems little to justify the last desperate step of self-destruction.

The bulk of the cases seem to be young women (often those who have been disappointed in love) and it is noteworthy that the number seems *pro rata* largest among the Rundum Muruts, particularly those living on the Talankai River.

The act of suicide is usually effected by the use of one of the many poisons in which the jungle abounds. They are classified generically as *tuba*, the plant in common use for stupefying river fish. Among the Muruts *limuan* (*Gelsemium Sumatranum*) is most commonly used and the same plant appears to be used elsewhere in Borneo for the same purpose. Dried and smoked in a cigarette or made into an infusion and drunk,

it seems to have the effect of inducing drowsiness, torpor and finally death, a painless and comfortable end to existence. This and the fact that it grows freely in the secondary jungle may account for the frequency of its use in preference to the more violent and disfiguring methods usual in other parts of the world.

§ 5

Life after Death. Passing travellers to North Borneo have asserted that the pagans have little or no religion. This is one of those wild and ill-founded assertions that betray the ignorance and lack of sympathy of the writer. Even those who know the Borneo natives well will agree with me when I say that nothing is more difficult than to obtain precise information as to their religious beliefs or to tie them down to definite statements on the subject. But this does not prove that they have no religious beliefs. When one comes to think of it, it would be no simple matter for the average European to answer in concise language a North Borneo pagan who put to him searching questions upon the subject of his religion.

I am only too well aware that my information as to the religious conceptions of the North Borneo pagans leaves many gaps to be filled in, many details to be supplemented. But there is no question that they believe in some form of a human soul or spirit which departs from the body at death and has a life thereafter. This belief seems so deep-seated and so widespread that it is unlikely that it has been adopted from civilized ideas.

The home of departed spirits is believed to be on the slopes of the highest mountains in the neighbourhood, these being Mulundayoh and Antulai in the Murut country and Kinabalu in the Dusun country. These mountains are regarded as sacred and no pagan cares to climb the higher slopes.

Mount Antulai, more commonly known as Mount Aru (The Mount of Ghosts), is more equivalent to our idea of Paradise than of Heaven, for it is considered to be but a place of sojourn, a stepping-stone, as it were, to the next world, which is the sky. According to Bur, a headman of the Tagul, it is a land much resembling Borneo, but not so difficult to live in: there is food in plenty and conditions of life are easier in every way. Here the spirit is born again until, after seven such reincarnations, the purged spirit finally merges in the Orang Tua (lit. Old Man, headman) of the World, who absorbs everyone and everything. Bur told Captain Francis that he considered



Photo

Y. Fuji

THE PEAKS OF KINABALU
The resting-place of departed souls.

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it probable that terrestrial ties of marriage were probably still valid in later reincarnations.

I have not been able to trace any parallel to this belief in reincarnation elsewhere in North Borneo, yet I believe it is commonly held in the Rundum group. The information was obtained about the year 1912 when the district was the least known in the country and the least penetrated by strangers. At the same time the possibility of the belief being the result of some outside influence, perhaps Chinese, is not precluded, although it seems to me unlikely.

Mr. Woolley, however, has put on record the pagans' belief in the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals, particularly deer, and I quote the following from the *British North Borneo Herald*, December 16, 1922 :

"The Muruts hold that if a woman dies in childbirth, and the child also dies, or is stillborn, the child will become a porcupine. Should the child survive for even a day the transmigration will not take place. For this reason, many women and some men will not eat porcupine flesh, holding it to be unclean.

"Men or women who die of sickness or old age, but not those who die of wounds, will, if in life they were very dirty and infested with lice, be changed after death into sambhur deer. A proof of this is found in the fact that deer are full of lice of the same sort as those which infest human beings. If a man is only moderately dirty, this transformation will be optional, not to the man himself—he cannot, during life, express his intention of becoming a deer—but to his spirit after it has left the body.

"That people are so transformed is a well-known Murut fact and by no means uncommon. A year and a half ago a young daughter of Meriang's died at Binai, near Tenom, and Kandoi, a native chief, went to the funeral. He saw the mother place a bead necklace round the neck of the dead child, a necklace of beads of different colours strung together in a well-marked pattern with bead pendants at regular intervals : he helped lay the body in the grave, and saw when the coverings were removed that the necklace was still there. In the afternoon of the same day, Kandoi went across the river to hunt, and soon came upon a young deer, which he shot : he ran up and stooping over the deer saw round its neck the identical necklace which he had seen that morning on the body of the dead child. He went home, but said nothing ; next morning he told the others that he had shot a deer, and they went out and brought it in and

divided it up ; Kandoi however, refused his share, saying that he was off colour and did not want any meat. When they had eaten, he told them the rest of the story, whereupon the meat that remained was collected and passed on to people in another house. Some Muruts will not eat deer at all, if they can help it, but to the majority meat is meat, though if they have reason to suspect its human origin in any particular case they will refuse it. So too, if the first taste appears strange or unpleasant or if they feel a sudden nausea or revulsion, they will recognize the reason and eat no more.

“ Here is another instance. About the year 1914, a Dusun, of Kimanis, a Lance-Corporal in the Constabulary, named Sutar, died at Kemabong on the Padas, and was buried there, and the grave mound was plastered over with clay in the usual manner. Five days later his friends went to place a spirit offering of a little rice and a banana or two on the grave, and found the mound split open, and a large crack going deep into the grave. They told others what they had found, and two days later the party, with the dead man's wife, went again to the grave. Then, as they came near, they saw emerging from the split mound a form, the upper half of which was a deer but the lower half was human. Next day tools were brought and the grave was opened, but no body, not even a single bone, was found within it ; only, leading away from the mound, were the tracks of a large deer.

“ To Muruts, these are modern instances, the details well authenticated, the evidence incontrovertible, and many more could doubtless be collected ; e.g. deer are often caught which have, thrust through the skin of the neck below the base of the skull, a *timbuk*, the broad bone hairpin worn by men in the knot of their long hair at the nape of their necks, or their ears are pierced with holes like those of earrings, and sometimes even there remains in them a fragment of the brass wire of the ring.”

Mr. Woolley further relates a legend concerning a Murut who borrowed an axe and a chisel from a neighbour, but died before he could return them. The neighbour claimed them, but they could not be found and so, there being no other property he could have in exchange, he took the young son of the dead man as his slave, as he was entitled to do by ancient custom. One day the boy's master shot a deer. The carcass was cut up and the head was given to the boy to carry home. It was heavy and he lagged behind. Suddenly he heard a voice say, “ Child,

you are my son," and he perceived the voice came from the mouth of the deer. "Oh, father," cried the youth, "if you had not borrowed that axe and chisel, I should not now be a slave." The voice then directed him to look in the roof of his father's house; there he found the tools and, upon handing them back to his master, regained his freedom.

My friend the late Mr. N. B. Baboneau, who went to Rundum as District Officer in 1914, was able to gather a good deal of information on the subject of the Murut after-life and the notes which were found among his papers after his death have been put at my disposal by his father. These notes were made on the spot and are before me as he wrote them. There was no one better qualified to win the sympathy of these shy Murut folk, for he understood natives, and being fond of them was able to see things from their point of view; he was, withal, one of the most lovable men who ever lived, with a fine mind and a simple outlook on life: to such men as he the pagan quickly responds because he perceives their sympathy and knows instinctively that he can trust them. It was the bitterest irony that Noel Baboneau should have met his death at the hands of a Dusun policeman at Tambunan in 1921.

Pamiang, well known to me as an intelligent chief of the lower Tagul,¹ told him that the fact that the Muruts go to Mount Antulai on departing this life is proved by a number of staffs (*tongkat*) belonging to the dead, stuck in the ground about the foot of the mountain. Pamiang had himself seen them—and passed quickly by.

He further stated that ten years previously, when he had been ill with small-pox, he had fallen into a trance. He found himself on the top of Antulai and saw an immense log, leading down the farther (east) side. He began the journey down, but awoke when he was half way—and recovered. His wife and a number of his friends continued the descent and all of them died. He noticed that there was a deep chasm on both sides of the log, but could give no further particulars, nor did he know anything of men's occupations on Antulai.

According to Pamiang most of his people's knowledge about affairs in the next world was given by Saluang, the second cousin of Pamiang's father (or grandfather) about forty years ago, when Pamiang was a child. Saluang died one day, at midday. His ghost climbed a ladder from Antulai to the sky. There he found an immense plain with houses so numerous

¹ He spoke Malay, so that the information must have been obtained by Mr. Baboneau at first-hand, without the mediation of an interpreter.

that they looked like *kladi* leaves. A big house stood in the middle. This belonged to Kohlung, the chief of the world above. Saluang went in and found a big drinking feast in progress. Soon after Kohlung came out of one of the cubicles, and declaring there was a bad smell, ejected Saluang from the sky. It was then midnight, and at the same moment Saluang's corpse came to life. He lived for about fifteen years (*tiga kali burok rumah*)¹ and then died again, this time finally.

Saluang's description of Kohlung was, naturally, rather vague, since he was so soon ejected. He was said to be tall of stature, wearing many ornaments and a loincloth (*chawat*) of bark and a big bone hairpin (*timbuk*): as Mr. Baboneau says, this, in those days would naturally be the limit of a Murut's idea of personal grandeur. He knows everyone on earth, as he created them, and has a tally (*tembuku*) for each of us, that is, a long piece of rattan with as many knots in it as the person it applies to has years of life. Presumably each year Kohlung unties a knot and death comes when no knots remain. Saluang was turned out because he arrived before his *tembuku* was finished.

Another Malay-speaking chief of the Rundum district, Pulangga, of Samalong, also knew of Kohlung. He more or less agreed with Pamiang's version. He was not familiar with the Saluang story, but knew that the mother of Sayong (a chief of Solidi) once made a similar excursion, returning one midnight after dying in the afternoon. She neither saw Kohlung nor entered the house, but was pushed off the steps before she could enter. The houses were numerous, as described by Saluang, Kohlung's being a large one in the middle. Pulangga had also seen hundreds of staffs round the foot of Antulai, and once when he was passing, he saw a path leading up the side. The path was not overgrown but showed no sign of having been cleared. According to him, when anyone dies broken branches or twigs may be noticed along the path as if someone had just passed that way.

It was generally agreed that tigers might be heard roaring on Antulai, but some—e.g. Pamiang—said that this did not betoken death, while others—e.g. Bisan of Lokat—said it did. A short time previously Bisan had heard them roaring and within a few days his father died.

Pamiang added that sometimes animals called *kandi* (Mr.

¹ Lit. "after the house had become rotten three times." Murut houses are seldom repaired, but are abandoned after four or five years, this period coinciding with the time by which the available virgin forest in the neighbourhood will have been used for planting.

Baboneau could not discover exactly what these were) could be heard making shrill noises at night.¹ People who were chased by them were invariably killed. There was, however, no known instance of anyone having been killed by *kandi*. If chased, an infallible means of putting them off was to cut a piece off the end of one's *chawat*, set fire to it and leave it on the path.

Tomandol, of Talan, held that the next world was on Mount Lumaku (near Bol, upper Padas), not on Antulai. (He had once lived for a time on the Padas). He had seen staffs round the foot of Lumaku, and Raut, of Sungih, had seen *padi* put out to dry, while he was collecting rubber in the jungle near Lumaku. Tomandol knew nothing of Kohlung.

From Pamiang and others Mr. Baboneau gathered that we have had one life before our present one and are to have one more, when we live—presumably for ever—in the sky, getting there either by way of Antulai or Lumaku. In our previous life we were bald, for we lived beneath the earth, and are not people always pouring boiling water, after cooking rice or potatoes, on the ground? So, in the next world above, we are red-eyed, a condition caused by the ascending smoke of wood fires.

There are different kinds of life hereafter for those who have died other than a natural death. For instance, those who have died by eating the poisonous *limuan* live in a world thickly planted with *limuan* bushes. These they cultivate and make gardens of them. Those who have been murdered live on a river where there is continual war and everyone is armed. A murderer, however, if he afterwards dies a natural death, goes to the world where ordinary mortals go.

All the Dusun groups live within sight of Kinabalu, and it is but natural that this great mountain, which rises with beetling peaks for nearly 14,000 feet, should be the resting-place of departed Dusuns. It is also that of the Muruts on the Keningau Plain.

Dalrymple mentions that the Dusuns of Geeong (which I take to be a Tempasuk village) think the road is "guarded by a fiery dog, who is a formidable opponent of the female sex; for whenever any virgins come, he seizes them as his legal prizes; but whatever women have been cohabited with in this world, he considers unworthy of his embrace, and lets them pass: the fathers, however, of Geeong, do not fail to reproach their daughters, though not very severely, if they make a slip."²

¹ I have not been able to identify *kandi*. Mr. Bunbury points out that *kandiah* is the Dusun for 'hawk.'

² *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

Witti, writing of the Dusuns on the eastern side of the mountain, mentions (Diary, June 12, 1882), that when a man feels his end approaching he allows his finger-nails to grow long, "so that he may be sure in scrambling up the steep and naked sides of Nabalú." I think this was a common custom among the Tempasuk groups also, but am uncertain if it still prevails.

According to information given to Mr. F. W. Fraser, at Keningau, there is a river to cross before the spirits can join their deceased relatives and friends and in order to let those who are already there know that another spirit is about to join them, it is customary to beat gongs in very quick time and very loud, just as a dying man is drawing his last breath. The river is said to be on the summit of Kinabalu and during heavy rains it can be seen that it is in flood by the water which flows down the sides of the mountain.¹

These waterfalls can be plainly seen pouring down the bare granite sides of the summit and may well have given rise to the legend, repeated by old geographers, that there was a lake on the summit of the mountain. The river is obviously a variant of the same idea. Witté states (Diary, June 12, 1882), that these waterfalls have a name of their own—*tatse di Nabalú*—and that the dead were believed to bathe in them. Captain Francis could never persuade any native to offer to go up the mountain from the Sugut (i.e. eastern) side of Kinabalu, because it was said that a party of Sugut Dusuns had once climbed to the top from that side; they had arrived at evening and looking over the square edge of rock had found a lake with thousands of boats floating about, lighted up. They descended hastily and never went up again.

In my own inquiries about the after-life on Kinabalu I have never been able to discover anything more than the idea that the disembodied spirit remained on the mountain in a state of peace. But Kabong, the headman of the large village of Kiau, on the foothills of Kinabalu, once told Captain Francis that the top of the mountain was like Dusun country with houses, cattle and pigs, though all this was invisible to mortal eyes. According to Kabong's theology, one died only once and in the next world had everlasting life. He was uncertain whether the dead resumed their youth when starting life again, but thought it probable. On the other hand he considered it almost certain that husband and wife resumed union after death. He admitted the possibility

¹ I have these details from some notes drawn up by Mr. Fraser when he was District Officer, Keningau, about 1898.



Photo by courtesy of

UMPU, SON OF KAEONG OF KIAU

H. W. L. Bunnery



of one partner surviving in this world long after the other and that difficulties might ensue if the survivor took another mate, but imagined that there would be some proviso for such events. He was doubtful whether children who died young were reincarnated at all, and, if they were, at what age.

§ 6

Pagan Deities. All the pagans believe in a single omnipotent deity. As we have seen, among the Rundum Muruts this is Kohlung, who dwells on Antulai. Among the Dusuns and the Murut groups, such as the Keningaus, who are closer to the Dusuns, this deity is Kinaringan, but so far as I have been able to gather his dwelling is not on Kinabalu, but in the sky. His wife is Munsummundok, and the Tempasuk Dusuns credit him with a son named Tawardakan. The son is ill-disposed towards mankind, but Munsummundok is an intermediary between mortals and Kinaringan, and according to information given me at Tuaran, escorts women to the next world. Kinaringan has the power to deal out retribution to evil-doers on earth, and may even punish whole villages, but I have never been able to discover any belief in punishment after death, nor to substantiate de Crespigny's statement,¹ referring to the Dusuns, that "after death they all have to ascend Kina Balu, which the good ones find little difficulty in accomplishing, and are from there ushered into heaven, while the wicked ones are left unsuccessfully trying to struggle and scramble up the rocky sides of the mountain."

Nor is there, so far as I know, any direct worship of either Kohlung or Kinaringan; they have no temples, no priests or priestesses; no sacrifices are made to them, no idols or effigies of them have been found. Yet they are recognized as omnipotent and Kinaringan (possibly Kohlung too) may be invoked as witness when taking an oath of peace or swearing to speak the truth.

The Creation. The only information I have as to Murut ideas about the creation is the legend (current among the Rundum Muruts and possibly elsewhere) that originally the sky was no bigger than a man's knee, and the earth no bigger than an egg. The earth told the sky to open up and spread itself as far as it could, and the sky did the same, but they found that the edges of the earth extended far beyond the sky. Then, so that

¹ *Reisen im nordlichen Theile der Insel Borneo* (Aug. 1857), Berl. Zeitschr. f. Erdkunde. Neue Folge. v. 334 (quoted from Ling Roth, i, 220).

they should fit together, as they do now on the horizon, the earth had to draw itself together and crumple its surface, with the result that lofty hills and deep valleys were created.

There are several Dusun versions of the creation. In these Kinaringan is responsible for making the world. According to a Tempasuk legend, in the beginning the world was nothing but a waste of waters and an expanse of sky. Then a great rock fell from the sky, and out of a cave in the summit emerged Kinaringan and Munsummundok. They travelled across the water until they came to the dwelling of an evil spirit named Bisagit, who lived in the region where sky meets sea. Bisagit had contrived to make some earth and he gave some to Kinaringan on the understanding that when Kinaringan had peopled his world with men and women he should allow Bisagit to take a toll of half of them every forty years, by afflicting them with the scourge of small-pox. Kinaringan reluctantly agreed, and having got the earth he mixed it with pieces of the rock until it spread in a miraculous manner and became the world as we know it to-day.

A magic red *nunuk* tree often comes into the legends concerning the first man and woman. A Tuaran story is that Kinaringan, having made the world, planted the *nunuk* tree which put forth leaves that became human beings and were swept by the wind to all corners of the earth. A Tempasuk version is that an immortal named Tarapan came from Kinabalu to the magic tree and asked for a wife. The tree made him one out of clay but it was brittle and Tarapan, thinking it would not stand hard work, rejected it. The tree then made him a wife from wood and gave it life, and thence came the Dusun race. Another account of the creation (I am uncertain who my informant was), is that Kinaringan took his blowpipe and fired one dart at the sun and brought down a man, and another dart at the moon and brought down a woman.

The commonest legend is, however, curiously parallel in some aspects to the second chapter of Genesis. The fullest account I heard was given me by the headman of a village in the Melobong peninsula in 1920. According to him, Kinaringan, wishing to people the earth, hewed two figures from stone, but was unable to quicken them with life. He carved two more from wood, with no better result. Then he took earth and clay and modelled two human forms and this time the material being soft and pliant, he was able to give the figures life. The couple began to grieve that they had no children, so one night, when they were asleep, Kinaringan took a rib from the

man and a rib from the woman and interchanged them. They were then (for some unexplained reason) able to have children, and so became the parents of mankind. But as the first pair had come from the earth, Kinaringan decreed that they must return to the element whence they came, which is why the Dusuns bury their dead.¹

I may add that the headman who told me this story was a very old man whose village was far from the beaten track. He said the story had been handed down to him from his ancestors and I had no reason to disbelieve him ; and if it is the result of outside influence, that influence must, I think, have been well before his time. Moreover, the legend is widespread so far as the creation of the first pair is concerned—but the rib changing is uncommon. Captain Francis found the legend among the Tempasuk group, with the variation that iron instead of stone was used ; this was unsuccessful because it rusted away, while white ants destroyed the wooden figures. An embellishment, very typical of the broad Dusun humour, was that Kinaringan enjoined washing to keep the brittle clay plastic, but ordained that for purposes of procreation the *membrum virile* must return to its pristine state of hardness.

The main subdivisions of the Dusuns in the Tempasuk district (Kiau, Saiap and Tempasuk) is accounted for by a variant of the foregoing legend. According to this, Kinaringan made the three figures in female shape and procreated children (male and female) from each of them. The Saiap Dusuns were the result of the wooden union, the Tempasuk Dusuns of the iron union and the Kiau Dusuns of the clay union. Captain Francis had this story of Kabong of Kiau and in his notes he writes : " Onto this yarn Kabong grafted a sort of Messiah story in which a white man was to appear and become the spiritual and temporal rajah of the Dusuns. He was, I gathered, the corporal presentment of the third element in the Trinity and Kabong paid me the compliment of saying that I fulfilled requirements. The only Europeans he had seen before (in recent years) were Pavitt and Kough, and it was about 3 a.m., after he had scoffed a bottle of square-face, so I was impressed neither by the coherence of the story nor by his idea of my fitness for the post. However, we swore blood brotherhood to end the evening."

The Millennium. The idea of the Dusun Messiah might have been worth following up, for the Muruts have always had a firm belief in a sort of millennium, when fruit trees would bear

¹ *Vide British North Borneo*, p. 292.

threefold, rice would appear without being planted and men would be able to fly. One self-appointed Messiah is said to have taken himself so seriously that he cast himself from a tree and broke his leg in consequence. But I firmly believe that this belief had a good deal to do with the outbreak of the Rundum Rebellion in 1915. So did Mr. Baboneau, who bore the brunt of it, and it was commonly said that Ingkun, a Tagul headman, who was one of the ringleaders, had a dream in which it was announced that the millennium was at hand, and that if his people would build an underground fortress all their dead relations would collect there and the long-promised new era would dawn. That the gathering of all one's departed relatives should be regarded as the prelude to a new and happier existence may seem unintelligible to some of us, but there is no doubt that this dream had great influence on the events that followed.

§ 7

Animism. Although the pagans are, up to a point, monotheists, animism plays an important part in their daily lives. For them almost every rock and tree and stream has a spirit, usually a spirit of evil, to be propitiated.

Most sickness, certainly all epidemics, such as cholera and small-pox, are regarded as the work of spirits. When sickness comes to a village it is customary to build a ceremonial boat of wood decked with flags and streamers and to provision it with food and drink. Then the aged priestesses make a tour of the village, persuading the spirit of sickness to embark in the little craft, which is eventually pushed out into the stream and allowed to drift down to the sea. If one encounters this boat caught upon a snag or stuck upon a sandbank, it is one's bounden duty to push it out into the stream again that the sickness may pass far from the haunts of men. I have encountered this belief at Keningau and at Tuaran and I believe it to be prevalent elsewhere. Mrs. W. B. Pryer mentions having encountered such a boat on the Kinabatangan River. She wished to have it but her boatmen refused to touch it.¹

The dreaded small-pox spirit is known as Bisagit, but in the Tuaran district is also called *tadu* (ancestor) or *tampinai* (friend), euphemisms which recall how the Furies were apostrophied as the Eumenides by the ancient Greeks. I have referred to the legend that Bisagit gave Kinaringan earth to make the world with and in return claimed half Kinaringan's people, a tax

¹ *A Decade in Borneo*, p. 83.

which he collects at regular periods. During the small-pox epidemic in the Tuaran district in 1914 I continually found, as I travelled about vaccinating the people, that the tracks to the villages had been blocked with carved posts and grotesque wooden figures. Bowls of rice had often been set out as well. Thus the inmates hoped either to stay the coming of Bisagit by the guardians of the path or, failing that, to appease him by their pathetic offerings.

Totemism. I have not been able to find any definite traces of totemism among the North Borneo pagans. Mr. C. D. Martyn tells me that he made very careful inquiries in the Pensiangan district on this subject and firmly believes it to be absolutely unknown—at any rate to the present generation. Mr. Woolley agrees with this view.

Tutelary Deities. Mr. J. S. Hill, of the British North Borneo Civil Service, states that among the Tagals and the Bol Muruts, there is a custom, by no means universally observed, of roughly carving one of the house-posts, especially in a new house, to represent a head. This is stained with various colours and a design is worked on the post. He was told that it was the guardian of the house, but could get no information as to whether it was worshipped or whether there were any rites connected with it.

Mr. A. N. Garry, making some inquiries on my behalf when District Officer, Jesselton, informs me that in some villages of the Putatan group beyond the sphere of influence of the Roman Catholic Mission, wooden images are carved into rough semblance of human beings, usually only the head being formed. This image is known as *singinanak*. It probably represents the guardian spirit of the house but, though held in awe and never mocked at, it is propitiated only in cases of illness which are definitely ascribed to its influence by the elders of the village.

Charms. Needless to say, the pagans have recourse to personal charms to avert ill luck and calamity. These are not stereotyped, but are a collection of odd and unfamiliar objects tied together, often with a brass bell attached: beads, shells, curiously shaped roots, animals' teeth, deer-hoofs, bits of coral. I have never succeeded in buying one of these collections, even from natives I knew well. Von Donop mentions (Diary, June 2, 1882), that some Dusuns looked upon a leaf torn from a novel as a sort of charm. Others declined to carry a note for Mr. Hatton, fearing there was a charm in it, but ultimately, after much persuasion, they placed it carefully away in a

bamboo.¹ These incidents occurred, of course, in the very early days of white occupation and would be unlikely to happen now.

All the pagans, in common with the Mohammedan tribes, believe that invulnerability can be procured by performing certain rites or by the possession of charms. Mr. Baboneau, in the notes referred to, mentions that pieces of a large rock, Batu Ampuan, which stood at the headwaters of the Tagul River, were commonly used as charms by the Muruts of this district. When these fragments were rubbed against a spear or blowpipe the owner not only became invulnerable, but the weapon would never miss its aim. Ansan, a famous Tagul chief, told Mr. Baboneau that he used this charm with unfailing success. *Ampuan*, in Murut, means to cry out, more especially to yell in triumph after a victory.

Augury. The classical custom of inspecting the entrails of animals in order to foretell the future is common among all the Borneo tribes. In North Borneo, as is usual in other parts of the country, the livers of pigs were consulted. I use the past tense, for I doubt whether the practice prevails now, except perhaps among the remoter groups. In olden days it was usual before any enterprise was undertaken by the community, but especially before a raiding-party set out. I have it on the authority of Kandoi, now Government Chief at Tenom and formerly a corporal of mine, that the Rundum (and I think general) custom was to kill a pig for every two men engaged in a raid. The warriors bathed in the blood and the carcasses were then cut open. If the liver was marked with deep lines it was held to foretell misfortune; if it contained hollows, one of the party would be killed; if diseased the warriors would be wounded; if flabby, their bodies would be sluggish when the time came for action. But if the liver was firm, red and unblemished, it portended nothing but success. If an unfavourable liver were encountered, two more pigs would be cut open. If these two foreboded disaster, the raid was abandoned.²

According to Mr. Fraser, the Keningau Muruts and Tambunan Dusuns were accustomed to inspect a pig's liver in cases of illness. If the liver was healthy the sick person would recover, but if it was diseased (*angus*) there was little hope. I am uncertain whether this custom still exists or whether it is found elsewhere.

Omens. All the pagans are profound believers in omens (*angai*), especially those disclosed by animals, birds, reptiles

¹ Diary, April 1, 1882.

² *Vide British North Borneo*, p. 296.



Photo

PUTATAN WOMEN

Showing brass ring girdles and belts of silver dollars. The figure with the ceremonial head-dress has a cloth-of-gold over either shoulder and a fringe of small silver bells on her skirt.

Man Sing

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and insects. It is worth tabulating these so far as they have been collected by myself and other writers. The mention that the belief in a certain omen is held by one group does not necessarily mean that it is not held by others, only that it has not been recorded, for most of these observances are similar throughout the country. For reference I number them consecutively.

Omens connected with Animals.

1. The roe-deer.¹

(a) Rundum group. It is a bad omen to see a roe-deer cross the path or to hear one bark, if one is on the way to work, on a journey, going hunting, or setting out on a raid.² According to Chief Kandoi, it is a good omen to see the animal before it barks; otherwise it foretells disaster. If it crosses one's path (whether seen before barking or not) one must return home and do no work, postpone one's journey, or abandon the hunt or raid for four days. If it does not cross the path one may sit down, light a few sticks (*berdiang*), have a smoke, and continue on one's way.

(b) Keningau. It is a good omen to hear the roe-deer bark an even number of times, but bad if the number is odd (F. W. Fraser). The omen as to its crossing the path applies also.

(c) Tambunan. As above, but the evil can be averted by praying if a *tarap* tree is close at hand. (F. W. Fraser.)

(d) Kiau. The taboo period varies between five and ten days, even if the animal's bark only is heard.

(e) Tuaran. The taboo period is one day, but should a roe-deer cross the path of a man who is bringing posts from the jungle to build a house, he must abandon them and fetch some more another day.

2. The mouse-deer.

(a) Rundum. If seen crossing the path the taboo period is four days. If it does not cross the path, it is only necessary to *berdiang*, as with the roe-deer.

(b) Tuaran. As for No. 1 (e).

The one-day taboo for both roe-deer and mouse-deer is probably common among all the coastal Dusuns, who are in-

¹ The place-names throughout this section refer to the groups as described in Chapter II.

² Compare the old belief in certain parts of Wiltshire and in Scotland, that it is unlucky for a hare to cross one's path when one is on important business. In the Blandford district of Dorset the appearance of a hare is held to bode disaster, especially if seen in an unusual place.

clined to regard the omens less seriously than the hill groups, probably because, having reached a higher stage of culture, time means a little more to them and long period of taboo would materially dislocate their affairs.

3. The jungle-cat.

Rundum. As for No. 1 (a).

I have not found the wild cat regarded as an omen animal elsewhere, probably because it is rarely encountered in the more open country of the Dusuns.

4. The mouse.

(a) Kiau. If one sees a mouse when abroad, or hears it squeak, the taboo period is between one and five days.

(b) Tuaran. No regard is paid to a live mouse. If one comes upon a dead mouse the taboo period is one day.

Omens connected with birds.

Certain birds are regarded as seriously as the roe-deer and mouse-deer, but it is difficult to identify them by scientific names. It is possible that the same bird may be mentioned in connection with different groups under another name: that is, the *mengapi* of Rundum may be the *kapiotaki* of Kiau, though this is unlikely, since the names of most birds are onomatopœic.

5. The *kisi*, a bird with a strange hissing note.

Rundum. It is a bad omen to see this bird, but if its calls are repeated four times, this is a sign of good fortune.

6. The *mengapi*, whose call is *king, king, king, tup, tup, tup*.

Rundum. As for No. 5.

7. The *penunor*, a small brown bird, with a shrill clear whistle.

Rundum. It is a good omen (a) if the bird whistles three times, (b) if it follows the path in front of one and chirps two or three times. It is a bad omen (a) if it whistles only once—this is intensified, (b) if it whistles a number of times in quick succession, (c) if one sees it and it does not whistle, (d) if it crosses the path in front of one, even if it whistles three times, (e) if it crosses the path behind (a sign that someone at home is dead), (f) if one hears two *penunor* birds, one on the right of the path and one on the left;¹ but if one of the birds afterwards crosses the

¹ The Murut word is *magis*—"on both sides," "right and left." *Is*=the shoulder-straps of a carrying-basket, one of which goes over the right and one over the left shoulder.

path and joins the other, and both chirp on the same side, this is a good omen. (N. B. Baboneau.)

8. The woodpecker.

Keningau. It is a bad omen to hear the sound of the woodpecker once, or any odd number of times. The taboo period is one day. An even number of times is a good omen. (F. W. Fraser.)

9. The *sagap* bird, called after the sound of its call.

Keningau. As for No. 8. (F. W. Fraser.)

10. The *nahagan* bird.

Kiau. It is a good omen to hear the call of this bird, and also to see it, so long as it does not actually cross the path. If it does, the omen is bad.

11. The *lakiu* bird.

Kiau. It is a good omen to hear the call, but unlucky to see it. Taboo period, one day.

12. The *puak*, *kapiotaki* and *langkup* birds.

Kiau. It is unlucky either to see or to hear the call of these birds. Taboo period, one day; but if a traveller is more than twenty-four hours out upon a journey he may either camp on the spot or return to his previous night's resting-place and continue his journey on the following day. It makes no difference whether the bird is seen on the right hand or on the left hand, but if it flies across the path the omen becomes intensified.

Omens connected with reptiles.

13. The snake.

(a) Rundum. As for No. 2 (a). To see a snake from one's house is considered even more serious than seeing one in the jungle, and then the taboo period would probably be increased.

(b) Keningau. It is a bad omen to see a snake cross the path. Taboo period one day.

(c) The Kiau group follow the Keningau custom, but if the snake disappears into a hole, the omen is intensified and the taboo period is between four to ten days.

Whitehead mentions a Dusun girl of Malankap (Kiau district) who met a snake on her way to the rice-fields. She killed it and sold it to Mr. Whitehead, but did not attempt to go on to the fields or to do any other work.¹

¹ *The Exploration of Mount Kinabalu*, p. 185.

(d) Tuaran. Only two snakes are regarded with superstition, the cobra (*immomuho*) and a black and white snake called *pamolam*. If either of these is seen to enter a hole in a rice-field during the planting season, a ring of a few feet is drawn round the spot, which is left untouched until the following year.

14. The iguana.

Tuaran. It is unlucky to see an iguana. Taboo period, one day.

15. The green lizard.

Kiau. It is unlucky to see a green lizard fall to the ground. Taboo period, one day.

Omens connected with insects.

16. The scorpion.

(a) Rundum. As for No. 2 (a).

(b) Kiau. It is a bad omen to meet a scorpion. Taboo period, one day.

17. The centipede.

(a) Rundum. As for No. 2 (a).

(b) Kiau. As for No. 15.

(c) Papar. A centipede is regarded as such a serious omen that if it appears on any part of the house that is building the whole structure and even the site may be abandoned.

18. The millipede.

(a) Kiau and Tempasuk. As for No. 15.

(b) Tambunan. If seen to be crawling in the same direction as the traveller, this is a good omen, if in the opposite direction, bad.

19. Bees.

(a) Tuaran. It is unlucky to meet a flying swarm of bees. Taboo period, one day.

(b) The Kiau and Tempasuk groups do not regard the above as a bad omen and consider it lucky if a swarm settles on or in a house.

Miscellaneous Omens and Taboo.

The Keningau Muruts consider it a bad omen if a branch of a tree, or a dead tree, falls across the path or even in the jungle near at hand. (F. W. Fraser.)

The Kiau Dusuns do no work on the day of the full moon and regard the rainbow as an omen, for which the taboo period

is one day. If a man is on urgent business and sees a rainbow he may, however, place a piece of *lalang* grass behind each ear and continue on his way without ill results.

The effect of bad omens generally can be counteracted to some extent by killing a fowl and smearing the blood on one's chest. (N. B. Baboneau.)

Many of the Dusun groups are debarred by taboo from cutting or eating bananas on a day a fowl has been killed. (R. M. O. Cook.)

Mr. Fraser has noted that the Keningau Muruts are in the habit of beating gongs when there is a high wind ; he gathered that this was as much as anything to drown the terrifying noise of the thunder, which usually accompanies or follows high winds in the Keningau district.

In the same way all the pagans follow the Malay and Chinese custom of beating gongs and drums while an eclipse is in progress, in order to frighten away the dragon which is eating up the sun or moon. The Marudu Dusuns throw their brassware and other valuables on to the ground in front of the house to placate the spirit.

Dreams.

All the pagans believe that dreams herald good fortune or disaster.

I collected the following dream meanings in the Rundum district :

It is unlucky to dream of crocodiles or of falling.

To dream of being hurt whilst out hunting foretells a wound on a raiding expedition.

To dream of a hawk the night before going on a raid is unlucky.

But it is lucky to dream of running after, and catching, a pretty girl.

Mr. Baboneau is my authority for the following (Rundum) :

If one dreams of killing a deer and afterwards goes raiding, one of the raiding-party will be killed. So, too, if one is raided after dreaming of killing a deer one of the raiders will be killed.

To dream of seeing the moon is unlucky—this means a death in the next raid.

Diving into water while the harvest is being reaped : a good harvest.

Making blowpipe darts : a bad harvest.

Hearing a jungle fire near one's house : sickness.

If one dreams of eating durian (*lampun*), one will get a pig next time one hunts; but to dream of eating the wild red durian (*ruian*) means death at the hands of one's enemies.

To dream of being struck by a falling tree means that one will be pursued by enemies in the jungle. But to dream of a tree falling near one and not striking one means that in the next raid neither party will suffer any casualties.

If a woman is pregnant and her husband dreams of going upstream, this means that she will die in childbirth. If he dreams of going downstream it means that she will bear a child and that it will thrive.

To dream of killing a snake means that one's wife or child will die.

To dream of a snake coiling itself round one's body means that one's wife will die. So, too, to dream of wearing bracelets, necklaces or anklets. These last two dreams are a sign of the rattan girdle wound round a woman's corpse.

To dream of seeing a certain fruit (*buah tali*) means that one's wife will be pregnant within a month and will bear many children.

To dream that one's wife is misbehaving herself with another man may be taken as a warning that she is doing so.

The following are some Kiau dream meanings :

A pig dying : a relative's impending death.

A burning house : sickness and misfortune.

Hunting : wealth and prosperity. The Tuaran group consider this an unlucky dream, believing that the soul of the sleeper has been consorting with spectral huntsmen.

It is lucky to dream of going uphill.

To dream of one dressed in fine clothes portends disaster, of one naked, success.

To dream of laughter is a sign of sickness, of weeping, good health.

§ 8

Oaths. Details of the pagan oath of peace have been given in the chapter on Headhunting. These do not vary greatly, but it is usual to plant stones as memorials of the oath, and to kill a buffalo and pour the blood over the stones. In earlier days it is probable that a slave was sacrificed, but I have no precise information on this point. On the Kudat Golf Course may still be seen the stones which were planted when the Dusuns swore allegiance to the Government after the Kudat Raid in

1900. Probably not one passer-by in ten knows their significance and they are of sufficient interest for the Government to preserve them in a railed-off enclosure with an obelisk to show what they represent.

In the early days of the Chartered Company Mr. Frank Hatton did much good work in getting the pagans to swear allegiance to the Government and the following descriptions of two such ceremonies are worth quoting :¹

“ At about 12 o'clock the Dusuns² commenced arriving, boatload after boatload, until some hundred men had collected, all armed with spears and swords. The chief now came up, and we at once proceeded with the ceremony. First the chief cut two long sticks, and then sitting down, he had a space of ground cleared before him, and began a discourse. When he came to any special point in his discourse he thrust a stick into the ground and cut it off at a height of half a foot from the earth, leaving the piece sticking in. This went on until he had made two little armies of sticks, half a foot high, with a stick in the middle of each army much higher than the rest, and representing the two leaders. These two armies were himself and his followers and myself and my men. Having called in a loud voice to his god, or Kinaringan, to be present, he and I took hold of the head and legs of the fowl, while a third person cut its head off with a knife. We then dropped our respective parts, and the movements of the dying fowl were watched. If it jumps towards the chief his heart is not true, if towards the person to be sworn in, his heart is not true ; it must, to be satisfactory, go in some other direction. Luckily, in my case, the fowl hopped away into the jungle and died. All my men fired three volleys at the request of the chief, and I gave some little presents all round, and sent the people away pleased and delighted . . . The Dusun headman, Degadong, was very kind. He presented me with a spear, and I gave him a long knife. This exchange of weapons is customary after the fowl ceremony.”

A few days later a similar ceremony was performed with the Bendowen Dusuns :³ “ The old men and all the tribe having assembled, the ceremonies began. First the jungle was cleared for about twenty yards, and then a hole dug about a

¹ Diary, March 27, 28 ; April 4, 1882.

² Ranau group. The ceremony took place near Tampias, upper Labuk.

³ Ranau group. The Bendowen River is shown on the present map as the Kegibangan.

foot deep, in which was placed a large water jar. In this country these jars are of enormous value, \$30, \$40, and even \$100 worth of gutta being given for a single jar. The bottom of the jar in question was knocked out, so as to render it useless in future. The clay taken out to make the hole was thrown into the jar, and now the old men commenced declaiming, 'Oh Kinarangan, hear us'—a loud shout to Kinarangan. The sound echoed away down the valleys, and as it died a stone was placed near the jar. Then, for half an hour, the old man declared that by fire (which was represented by a burning stick), by water (which was brought in a bamboo and poured into the jar), and earth, that they would be true to all white men. A *sumpitan*¹ was then fetched, and an arrow shot into the air to summon Kinarangan. We now placed our four guns, which were all the arms my party of eight mustered, on the mouth of the jar, and each put a hand in and took a little clay out and put it away. Finally several volleys were shot over the place and the ceremony terminated."

The pagans are accustomed to take an oath before giving evidence. On the coast a Dusun witness is allowed to swear in a translated version of our own Court oath, without, of course, kissing the Bible. Taking cases up-country, however, I always insisted on witnesses taking the oath according to local custom. This consisted in the witness taking a strand of rattan, holding it for a moment round his neck, and then placing it upon the ground and chopping it into pieces while he cried out the oath in a loud voice, the terms of it being on the lines of "When I go to the water, may I not be able to drink, when I go to the jungle may I not be able to eat, may I be eaten by a crocodile, may I be bitten by a snake, may I be hacked in pieces as this piece of rattan is hacked in pieces, if I do not tell the truth."

So far as I remember, the Rundum oath was usually taken without the rattan, the witness jumping about and striking fist upon palm to emphasize each clause.

Blood Brotherhood. The swearing of blood brotherhood (*akun sudara*) is a common practice among all groups. The procedure is for each of the two parties to cut themselves slightly and to allow a drop or two of blood to fall on the tobacco of a cigarette, which is then smoked by each in turn. The rite may also be performed by allowing the blood to fall into a bowl of coconut milk, from which each party drinks. Or the blood may be smeared on to a strip of rattan which is chopped in two, each party keeping one half.

¹ Blowpipe.

Mr. Fraser mentions how a commercial form of this custom was practised in the early days by Dayak and other traders and buyers of jungle produce. Wishing to travel in the unsettled districts of Dalit and Tagul with as much security as possible, a trader would pick out a powerful chief and ask to be adopted as his son. He then became a member of the group and, as such, entitled to its protection, but before adoption he had to give the chief presents and to continue to do so afterwards. Some of the Dayaks became the adopted sons of several chiefs in this way and when one of their acquired fathers became involved in hostilities with another, the position was apt to become complicated.

§ 9

The Gusi Cult. Some of the coastal Dusuns have a curious ceremonial connected with sacred jars, known as *gusi*. The *gusi* cult is confined to the Papar, Putatan and Tuaran groups : that is, to the wealthiest pagans in the territory. It is found at its height among the Tuaran Dusuns, who now own most of the *gusi* in the country. At one time the cult was practised extensively in the neighbourhood of Penampang (Putatan district), but Mr. A. N. Garry tells me that it is fast dying out there and ascribes this to the increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Mission and to the general march of civilization. The majority of the *gusi* have been destroyed or sold away, many having gone to Tuaran, and one of the few remaining centres of the cult is Terawi village, about three miles from Putatan railway station.

These jars are found in Sarawak, but the *gusi* of North Borneo belongs to one of two varieties, known locally as *tompok* and *haing haing* or *haga*. These are of greenish-brown porcelain, lipped, the *tompok*, which is larger than the *haing haing*, standing about four feet from the ground. Their origin is held to have been mythical, but although undoubtedly of considerable antiquity they are probably of Chinese manufacture. Their intrinsic value is small, but as much as £200 or £300 may be paid for one, since miraculous and oracular powers are attributed to them. A Dusun estimate given to me was that there were not more than thirty true *gusi* in the country.

A *gusi* is the property not of an individual but of a family, each member (*waris*)¹ of which has rights of possession in the

¹ *Waris* is the Dusun word for 'heir,' but here the meaning is equivalent to shareholder in a company, the family, for purposes of *gusi* ownership, having extensive ramifications.

jar, and is entitled to have it in his house until it is required by another *waris*; but he must first arrange the matter with the other *waris* and the chief shareholder—who will probably be the head of the family. If no objection is raised, the chief *waris* himself escorts the *gusi*, carefully wrapped in old scarves, to the house of the applicant: but should he be ill or in trouble, even he may not touch it and the applicant is allowed to fetch it himself. But it may not be removed from a house where anyone lies sick. It may not be carried by boat (for a boat would sink under its precious weight), and if it is necessary to ferry it across a river, a priestess must be present to perform an incantation.

Sir Spenser St. John mentions¹ two *gusi* owned by the Datoh of Tamparuli (Tuaran district). For one he had paid the equivalent of over £400; on the other he placed an almost fabulous value. It was about two feet in height, of a dark olive-green colour. He was accustomed to fill both jars with water, adding flowers and herbs, and retailed small quantities to such persons who were suffering from any illness.

When District Officer at Tuaran in 1913, I made some investigations into this jar cult. The information I gathered (and there is room for more inquiry) was embodied in my book *British North Borneo*, pages 297–300. For the sake of comprehensiveness it seems worth summarizing these notes here, and to add such further information as I have been able to obtain.²

The *gusi* is kept, for safety, in a railed-off enclosure in the house. The rites are performed annually, warning being received in a dream by one of the aged priestesses of the jar. In times of sickness extra ceremonies may be held; a priestess is called in and she (speaking in the ceremonial language) asks the spirit of the jar (*hantu gusi*) what is the matter, whereupon the *gusi* replies that the cult has been neglected.

When the ceremonies are to be performed all the *waris* are called together and the *gusi* is set out in the house, surrounded by smaller jars, and wrapped in cloths of gold and hung with old bead necklaces. The treasures of the *waris* (jars, gongs and brassware) are brought together and laid out in the house, and a small boy is detailed to guard the *gusi* during the ensuing festival, which lasts seven days.

There is no secrecy about the rites, which even the Moham-medans may attend. The first six nights are given up to feasting

¹ *Op. cit.*, i, 300.

² See also I. H. N. Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, pp. 156–7.



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TUARAN DUSUN WITH JAR

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and drinking. On the evening of the sixth day a buffalo is killed. The priestesses—four or five—then appear. Their food and wages have been set out ready for them. They seat themselves on the floor and offer up incantations in a language known only to themselves. At midnight each gives the *gusi* food and drink and then, having tapped the house-posts with their small ceremonial brass knives, they lead a procession round the house, cutting at the cross-beams with larger knives, the congregation following suit. This, I take it, is to drive any evil spirits from the dwelling. On the veranda of the house have been placed twelve young sago leaves ; these are slashed down with adjurations to the sickness not to return. Two bamboos about twelve feet long are then taken and split in two and hung outside the house, with long thorns (*rakam*) attached to them, as a sign that the ceremony has been performed. A goat or fowl is killed and the rites are at an end, though the feasting continues until the following night. Should a *gusi* be damaged during a ceremony the offender must pay compensation of one buffalo, and the chief *waris* is responsible for having it repaired.

The chief *gusi* rites usually, but not necessarily, take place soon after the rice planting, to ensure a good harvest. This ceremony is called *mengahou* at Tuaran and with it is connected another, held soon after the harvest, known as *mobog*. The object of this seems to be to exorcise all the evil spirits that have collected in the village during the year, and the procedure is similar to that already described for exorcising the spirit of sickness, a model boat being prepared to receive the spirits.

Mr. E. A. Pearson, formerly District Officer, Tuaran, in some notes he has been good enough to send me on the cult, states that the *gusi* is really the receptacle containing the will of a Power or tutelary deity (not to be confused with Kinarangan), which is more or less beatific but has abundant capabilities of vindictive punishment, as opposed to the purposeless punishment of misfortune inflicted on mankind by demons and evil spirits. Thus at seasons of ploughing, weeding and reaping, the *gusi* becomes the agent of the Power (which here approximates to Ceres), and guards the well-being of the crops ; if anyone is remiss in paying the due observances, the *gusi* would punish him for his defection. The idea is that the rice crop may or may not thrive because a *gusi* is not invoked ; but it *will* thrive if due observance is paid to the requirements of the *gusi* and it will *not* thrive if the *gusi* is flouted during the rice season. Similar rules apply during pregnancy and other important human affairs. It seems, therefore, that the *gusi* is yet another

form of intermediary between gods and men, and is perhaps equivalent to the *singinanak* of the Putatan group already referred to. The *singinanak* is not found in the Tuaran district.

§ 10

Rice Ceremonies. All the pagans have ceremonies connected with the planting of rice and the harvest. These ceremonies are most elaborate in the districts like Papar and Putatan, where rice cultivation reaches its height. Some notes on the Papar rites were published in the *British North Borneo Herald* of June 1, 1895 (B.N.B. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Supplement), by Mr. P. F. Wise. Inquiries of my own, made on the spot in 1920, showed that these rites were still performed, and I was able to verify Mr. Wise's notes and in some places to amplify them. The full details will be found in *British North Borneo*, pages 271-2, but I feel it as well to reproduce the main points here.

There are six different ceremonies, extending from planting to harvest, the first five being to ensure the well-being of the crop in its successive stages, and the sixth being the harvest festival.

1. *Simavut*. Time: before the young shoots are taken from the nurseries and planted out in the fields. A priestess spreads rice, eggs and betel-nut upon a mat, and then taps the floor incessantly for several hours until the spirit of the rice (*semangat*) is supposed to have come and eaten of the feast.

2. *Murumbigi*. Time: when the young shoots have grown up but are not yet in ear. A shelter is erected for the priestess in a rice-field. She kills a fowl and scatters its feathers upon the growing crop. Feasting and dancing follow.

3. *Maganakan*. Time: when the rice is in ear. A long house is built specially for this rite near the fields. The whole community assist, some contributing *atap*, others bamboo, rattan, *nibong* palm and so on. The priestess (there may be more than one), establishes herself in the house and each member of the village brings her a small offering—fowls, or eggs or fruit. The priestess remains in the house one night, performing rites. The next day fowls and goats are killed and a feast follows. Then ensues a taboo period of seven days, during which no one may do work of any kind, or so much as go into the fields. If the taboo is broken the offender must pay compensation (*sagit*) to the community.



Photo

Deruby Kutter

MOVING RICE BY MEANS OF BAMBOO SLEDGE (PAPAR DISTRICT)



4. *Mohah*. Time : when the rice is ripe. The community collect in another specially built house. Drums and gongs are beaten and the people dance with the long leaves of the *silad* bush in their hair and in their hands, circling round an old rice-basket and beating it with the leaves. As soon as someone finds a grain of rice in his hand, a good harvest is considered to be ensured, and the finder is elected master of the ceremonies at the next year's festival.

5. *Manimpohun*. Time : after the harvest, but while the rice is still in the field huts. A basket is filled with rice. The priestess mutters an incantation over it and the contents are poured into the circular bark bin (*katawi*) in the house, where the remainder of the crop is finally stored. Strictly speaking, no rice may be sold until the ceremony has been performed, and for three days afterwards no stranger may enter the house ; but at Putatan the rice is carried to the house as soon as it has been cut and may be sold at once.

6. *Togonok*. Time : when all the crop has been stored. This is in the nature of a thanksgiving service. Thirteen bamboos, varying in length from one to five feet, are brought out and beaten in time to a kind of tune, the smaller bamboos supplying the high notes, the long ones the deep. These bamboo instruments are kept as heirlooms and handed down from generation to generation. The older they are the more they are valued and the better tone they have. This ceremony is said to be peculiar to Papar and I am not sure whether it is still held. It may be analogous to the Keningau custom of *metegonggak*, when the members of two villages meet at night and perform evolutions, beating similar bamboo instruments. It is followed by a feast to which a neighbouring village is invited ; mock fights occur, and drinking and dancing follow.

Besides these rites, emergency ceremonies may be performed by the priestesses if disease or pests attack the crops. If a crime is committed in the village the offender is required to pay a buffalo as *sagit* to the community. The buffalo is killed and its blood sprinkled over the crop.

The Papar Dusuns forbid the firing of a gun while the rice is still in the fields, but I am uncertain whether this custom prevails elsewhere.

CHAPTER XII

FOLKLORE

§ I

BOTH the Muruts and Dusuns have innumerable legends which they are willing enough to recount to a European in whom they have some confidence. The younger men are apt to tell these tales with a slightly apologetic air, as though they were foolish matters of which grown men might be ashamed. I have always found the best way to disperse this childlike fear of being laughed at is to start the pump working, as it were, by telling some simple fairy tale myself: few story-tellers can resist the temptation to go one better, and one story leads to another. They must, however, be told in friendly wise, to while away an evening. It is fatal to offer any reward, unless the investigator wants the product of the quick-witted and inventive mind of some pagan Edgar Wallace.

Among the more sophisticated generation that is growing up, especially in districts close to civilized centres, the remembrance of these tales of long ago is dying out, for the pagans have no professional story-tellers. The old men are, of course, the repositories of folklore, and the older they are, and the more remote their village, the less likely are their stories to be tainted by outside influence. For this reason the Murut stories, as a whole, are of greater value than those of the Dusuns, simply because the Muruts have had little contact with the outside world and there is more chance of their folklore being pure and genuine; although even here one must not forget the possible influence of Dayak and Arab traders.

Legends that describe the beginning of the world and the creation of the first men and women have been mentioned already. There are nature myths that account for an eclipse or for the presence of the rainbow. The Rundum Muruts say that the moon is the sun's wife and the stars their children, but I have not found any legend in which the sun or moon appear personified. Stories are told to account for the origin of almost everything a pagan knows—from food to fire; some

explain the habits of animals or reptiles : why, for instance, crocodiles eat human beings ; others explain the etymology of place-names : some of these may have historical foundation ; such is the derivation of Kiau—that in a time of drought all other springs and streams dried up in the country except the stream near where the village of Kiau now stands, so that the people's thirst could be quenched (*kiau*) there. Mr. Bunbury has given me the following derivation of Tambunan : at a spot near the plain on one of the main routes between Tambunan and Papar it was customary, up to twenty years ago, for passers-by to pluck a few leaves and cast them on a heap that lay beside the path, where a Dusun had once been struck down (by divine wrath) for perjury. The district was said to take its name from this heap (*tambun-an*).

Then there are geological myths to account for curiously shaped rocks and hills, and geographical myths about the exploits of rivers. Beast fables are very common, often pointing a moral to adorn a tale. These include the Malayan mouse-deer stories, which are too well known to need recapitulation. They have been adopted with local variations, but Si Plandok, the mouse-deer, nearly always gets the better of animals stronger than he, and closely corresponds to Brer Rabbit.

A considerable number of Dusun stories have been published already and it is unnecessary to reproduce these here, except for purposes of comparative reference.¹ I shall confine myself to putting on record some which have not appeared in book form. While he was District Officer, Rundum, Mr. Baboneau collected a number of Murut legends and wrote them down on the spot, translating them as literally as he could from the original narrative. Some of these, with others collected by Mr. F. W. Fraser and Captain A. B. C. Francis, are worth reproducing.

In gathering these legends Mr. Baboneau's experience was similar to my own, that they were given willingly and spontaneously. As he observed, it is one of the best traits of the Murut story-teller that he will not allow himself to be 'drawn' beyond a certain point and will invariably reply that he cannot answer questions of detail put to him if he does not know. He will not attempt to invent, and generally apologizes for the seeming improbabilities and absurdity of his tale on the ground that it has been handed down to him from his

¹ Those interested may be referred to I. H. N. Evans' *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, Chap. xviii, and Journ. R.A.I., vol. xliii, p. 422 *et seq.* ; H. Ling Roth's *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Chap. xii ; and my own collection in *The Dragon of Kinabalu*, and *British North Borneo*, *passim*,

ancestors and as such he is retailing it. Mr. Baboneau found that most of the legends he collected were known throughout the district in one form or another, but differed more or less widely in detail.

§ 2

Legends concerning the First Men and Women. Most of the pagans have a story to account for the way in which human beings first learnt to propagate their species. Unlike many of their legends, which are the grim stories of a people waging a ceaseless fight against nature, these tales exhibit a merry humour which, if broad and crude, is certainly characteristic. The following version was given Mr. Baboneau by Tomandol of Tagul :

In the beginning of things there was a great flood which destroyed everything and left, when it subsided, only two people alive, a girl and her young brother. One day the youth went out hunting with his blowpipe. He found no animals to shoot, but came upon two lizards (*bengarong*) mating. A new desire was awakened in him and he returned to his sister, and for days was silent, refusing to eat. The girl grew concerned and asked him what he wanted. He pointed.

"Is it my skirt you want?" she asked.

"A little more (*sikit lagi*)," he answered.

"Is it my belt?"

"A little more."

"Is it my navel?"

"A little more."

"Well," said the girl, when she understood, "since you cannot eat and I am worried about you, you may; but you must only pretend."

The boy agreed, and did as she told him. But while he was 'pretending' a wasp came and stung him from behind. He gave a jump forward from the middle . . . The result was that twins were born and that is the origin of the present human race.

"But that," the narrator observed, "is a long time ago."

The following version of the above story was given by Pamiang, the headman to whom reference has already been made :

After the flood there remained only a woman and her young brother. The latter went hunting, saw two squirrels (*basing*)

mating. This affected him very strangely and he went home and asked his sister what it meant. She immediately told him.

"Is it pleasant (*amis*)?" he asked.

"Quite pleasant," she replied and he found she was right.

The result of the union was a dog.

There are similar Dusun variants of this legend of the race being sprung from the union of a brother and sister. The prevalence of this story is all the more curious when one remembers the severe view the pagans take of incest.

The following account of the origin of the Dusuns was given Captain Francis by Kabong, headman of Kiau. It is curious not only because it adheres to the tradition of incestuous origin but because it assigns the origin partly to a prince of China and so certainly helps to strengthen the arguments of those who hold the theory of the Dusuns' Chinese ancestry:

The son of the Emperor of China (Rajah China) was on a visit to Brunei and went to bathe in a pool. The daughter of the Sultan of Brunei (Rajah Brunei) came down to fetch water, and the prince, being ashamed to be seen naked before a woman, submerged himself in the water. In drawing the water, the princess slipped on the stones and fell on top of the prince in such a way that they became physically united, and the union was consummated by her making efforts to get up. In due course she bore a son, and a similar incident, repeated later, produced a daughter; the two children married and founded the Dusun tribe.

The following story, told by Pulangga, headman of Samalong (Rundum), to Mr. Baboneau, accounts for death among human beings. Batu Punggul, the setting of the legend, is a large and curiously shaped rock on the Sapulot River:

At one time the world was inhabited by seven brothers and their young sister, named Papusan. They lived on the Sapulot River near Batu Punggul. One day they all went bathing; one of them suggested going into the jungle. They left their sister sitting on a rock by the river side and journeyed for a week or more. On their return they found the stone on which they had left Papusan had risen to a great height, Papusan being nowhere to be seen.

"Perhaps she is on top," said one. "Let us cut down the rock."

They hacked at it without result till all their knives and axes were blunted, and then fell asleep. The youngest dreamt

that they must catch a porcupine in a trap at the base of the rock. When he awoke he began to prepare a trap of soft wood, but the eldest said he could make a better one and made one of hard wood. Next morning they found only the quills of the porcupine in the trap. The youngest then made his trap and next morning they caught a porcupine. They sharpened its bones and made axes and began to cut down the rock. The youngest was cutting it down in small pieces when the eldest got impatient and began hacking it down in big chunks. (Hence the masses of rock in that part of the river). The rock fell with a crash and the end of it reached to Bukit Penotal (on the Tagul, not the Padas), the base of it being the present Batu Punggul (*tunggul*, a stump).

Papusan had married while on the top of the rock and she and her husband both fell with the summit of it at Penotal, and her brothers looked for her in vain.

The youngest then dreamt that a snake had swallowed them both and had gone up the Sidalum River to its source where there was, and still is, a cave. The brother went to the cave and found the snake asleep. The youngest took a knife and began to cut open its stomach carefully, without waking it. The eldest got impatient, took the knife and slashed open the snake's stomach. The snake rose up, its head as high as a *bilian* (ironwood) tree and the eldest cut and hacked it till it was dead. They found only Papusan's finger and her husband's loincloth.

"See what you have done," the youngest said. "We shall all die. Let us make a boat and get away home."

On their way down the Tagul they were attacked again and again by snakes and all killed, in revenge for their killing the snake at Sidalum. If it had not been for this none of us would ever die.

Pulangga pointed out to Mr. Baboneau a pool near the Kuala Sempogan which is supposed to be the place where they were first attacked by snakes.

§ 3

Legends concerning the Flood. In both Murut and Dusun folklore references to a great flood occur constantly; and the Dusun story of how Kinaringan and Munsummundok appeared from a rock in the waste of waters may be a reference to it. The Kiau Dusuns say that originally the Dusuns owned all the Tempasuk country, as far as the coast. Then a heavy flood drove them to the hills for a year or two, where they learnt to plant hill rice. When the flood subsided they found the lowlands



Photo by courtesy of

BATU PUNGGUL

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occupied by Bajaus and Illanuns, who hold their land to this day. Another account states that originally only hill rice was planted, but during the flood it was all washed away from the hills to the plains, where it took root, but would only grow in water ever after.

This flood legend is held to account for legendary anchors and junks having been seen on certain hills in the neighbourhood. A long tumulus-like hill, about 150 yards long, 50 wide and 75 high called Rindian, which stands in the middle of a plain near the Wariu River, is supposed to be the burial place of the Dusun ark, according to Kabong of Kiau. This was a bamboo raft onto which the Dusuns crowded with their livestock. One morning they were aroused by the cackling of a hen and found that she had flown from the raft and had laid an egg on the summit of Rindian Hill, which was protruding above the level of the water, and they realized with joy that the flood was beginning to subside. This homely version of the Genesis story seems almost certainly to owe much to outside influence; yet it is worth recording it and the belief in a vast and devastating flood is certainly widespread, both among the North Borneo pagans and those of Sarawak.¹

The Origin of Food. According to a Tempasuk story (I think from Kiau), Kinaringan, to provide food for his first man and woman, killed his daughter and told the mortals to cut up the body and plant the pieces in the ground. From the child's head sprang the coconut, from the arms the sugar-cane, from the fingers bananas, from the legs sweet potatoes, and from the feet Indian corn. Another version, collected by Mr. Evans in lower Tempasuk, states that the child belonged to the first man and woman: its blood gave rise to rice, its head to a coconut, its fingers to betel-nut, its ears to the sireh vine, its feet to Indian corn and so on.²

There are two other Tempasuk stories to account for the origin of rice. Both concern the legendary Tarapan who, anyhow among the Kiau Dusuns, is regarded as a sort of patron saint. The Kiau version is that the Dusuns became dissatisfied because they had nothing to eat but fruit and vegetables. So Tarapan took his boat and went over the sea to the dwelling of a great king and put the complaint before him. The king gave Tarapan a dog and a small bundle, telling him to return home, tie the bundle to the dog's tail and let him go. Tarapan did as he was told, and the rice-seed (which the bundle contained)

¹ *Vide* Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, i, 300 *et seq.*

² *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 175.



was scattered to and fro by the dog's tail as it moved. The Dusuns were much disgusted, as nothing happened for a long time. But at last the rice sprouted and grew into ear and then all hearts rejoiced at the new form of food.

The other account is common, I think, in lower Tempasuk and contains the Dusun version of the story of Pandora's Box. It begins in the same way : the Dusuns grumbled about their food. Tarapan fell asleep one day and dreamed that he must plant a certain nut. He did so, and in the night a mighty palm grew up. In the morning he climbed the palm and after going up a long way went through the sky into the country of Kinarangan. He found Kinarangan's daughter in a house cooking what looked like maggots. He watched her eating this food after it was cooked, asked for some, and liked it. Kinarangan's daughter retired for a few moments and Tarapan took the opportunity of exploring the house, though she had told him not to. He looked into everything, but found one box locked.

At evening Kinarangan came home and found Tarapan there. He invited him to stay the night and gave him another feed of rice—as the 'maggots' turned out to be. Then all went to sleep, except Tarapan, who crept and opened the mysterious box. Instantly out came monkeys, deer, pigs and all insect pests which prey on growing rice. Kinarangan awoke and saw what had happened. He told Tarapan that the creatures must have food and that therefore Tarapan must return to earth taking some seed-rice with him, and that owing to his curiosity the pests would for ever live upon his crops.

The Origin of Fire. One Murut legend to account for the use of fire is a continuation of the story, mentioned above, in which the union of brother and sister resulted in a dog. The boy took the dog out hunting. They came upon a *kilian* root. The dog took a piece home, put it in the sun and dried it. Then he told the boy to make a hole in the middle, insert a stick and rub it vigorously between his hands. Sparks flew out, and this was the origin of fire.

Later, a boy and a girl were born. They were given a piece of *kilian* root and sent to another country. And so on till the whole world was peopled and knew the use of fire.

Later they grew tired of this primitive method of making fire. The boy took the dog out hunting again. They came across a *polur* tree (resembling the cotton tree). The dog barked at it. They cut it down and the dog told the boy to take the cotton-like substance (*lulup*) inside the pod. The dog then barked at a bamboo, and they took a piece of it ; it barked



A. C. Corbetta

THE TEMPASUK PLAIN
Showing Mount Kinabalu in the distance.

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again at a rock, which they also took. They dried the *lulup*, rubbed it against the bamboo with a piece of the rock, and thus the Muruts got their more modern method of making fire.

The Kiau legend is that by the friction of the wind two growing bamboos caught fire. A dog, passing by, seized one of the burning pieces and carried it home to his master's house, which soon went up in flames. The fire resulted in the charring of some cobs of Indian corn which were in the house, and in the boiling of some potatoes which had been left to soak. In consequence the Dusuns learnt not only how to make fire, but how to apply it for cooking purposes. One may compare Charles Lamb's *Dissertation upon Roast Pig*, which, it will be remembered, was based on a Chinese legend.

§ 4

Geological Legends. There are few curiously shaped rocks or hills in North Borneo which have no legend to account for their origin. The story of Batu Punggul and Penotal Hill, related above, is an example.

A few miles below Tenom, the headquarters of the Interior Residency, the Padas River narrows into a deep gorge, at the head of which stands a great rock, known as Batu Penotal, the centre of many a legend. The Temoguns say that in olden days the Padas had no outlet here, but formed into a lake and that Batu Penotal (which is not to be confused with Penotal Hill in the Tagul country) was a towering wall of rock that marked the end of the world, where earth met sky. There are several stories to account for the break through of the river. One is that a giant used to wash his sago in the lake, but he was so tall that he kept bumping his head against the sky and finally, in fury, he aimed a mighty kick at the rock, which was shattered to pieces and so allowed the Padas to break through.

Another version, collected by Mr. Fraser at Keningau, tells that one day the Spirit of the Lake lost his daughter and, after searching for her for some time, saw her body lying under the water, close to the present entrance of the gorge. Since the water did not look deep, the Lake Spirit stretched down his arm to pick up the body, but could not reach it. He tried again several times, each time stretching farther and farther, and even putting his head under the water, but still he could not reach. Finally in anger he struck the rocks. They broke, the water of the lake escaped and the body of the girl was then recovered.

A third legend (also collected by Mr. Fraser) has it that the daughter of the Lake Spirit fell in love with a mortal. Her father disapproved of the marriage and forbade it; whereupon the pair fled over the hill. In his wrath the Lake Spirit struck the rocks, which broke asunder; the water rushed out and the escaping lovers were drowned.

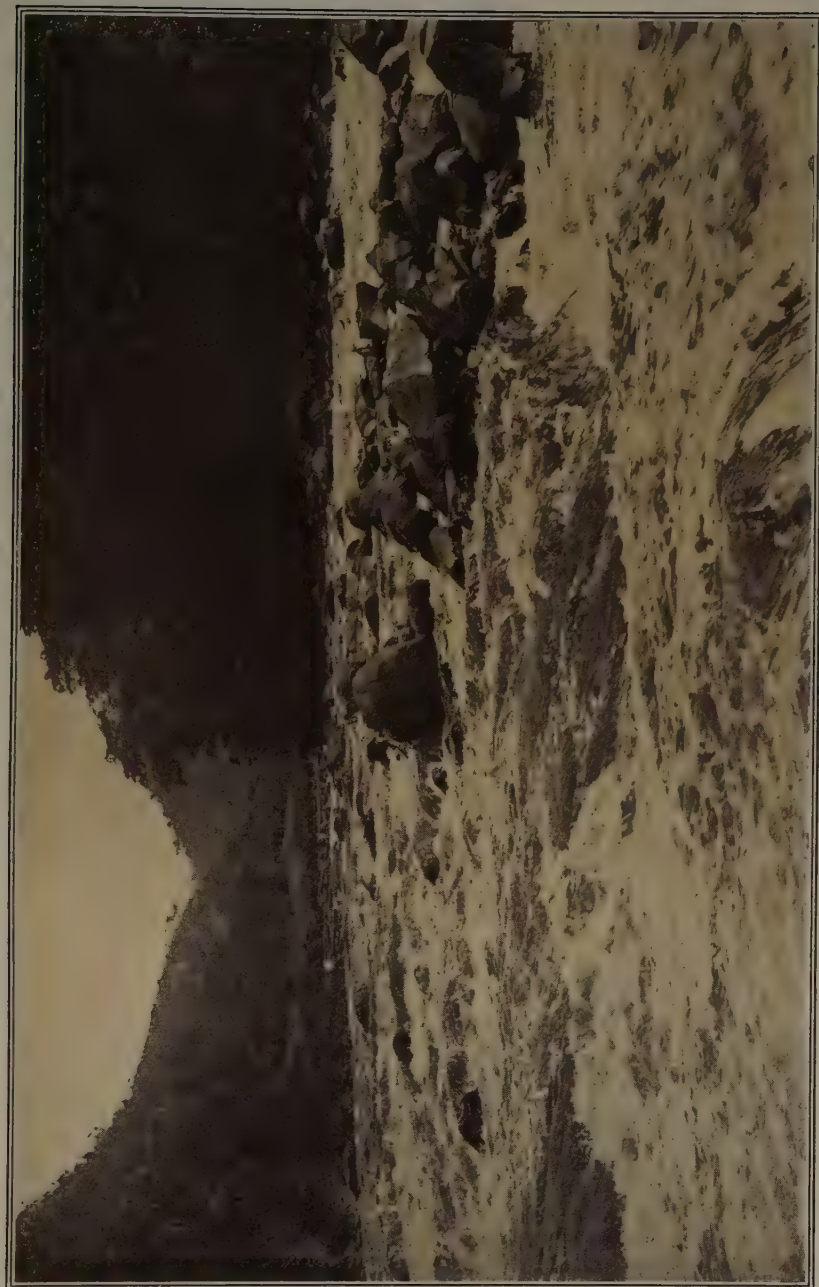
Geographical Legends. The following legends concerning the Tagul and Selalir rivers were collected by Mr. Baboneau. It should be explained that the Muruts on these two rivers (both tributaries of the Pensiangan) were deadly enemies for many years, the Selalir folk usually being the aggressors.¹ The stories come from Tagul, and in the rivers' methods of racing the characters of the Tagul and Selalir people are typified—of course from the Tagul point of view.

Originally the Selalir was as big as a man's knee, the Tagul as big as an egg. Both had their origin in a hill somewhere near the sources of the present rivers. The Selalir (just like the Selalir people) was headstrong and impatient and proposed to the Tagul that they should race towards the sea, meeting at a point near where the Selalir now joins the Pensiangan. Whichever reached this point first was to give its name to the main stream thus formed, until it reached the sea. They started the race from a tree on the hill. The Selalir went "hell for leather," carrying everything before it in its impatience; but the Tagul ran more carefully, winding in and out to avoid obstacles. The Tagul reached the winning post first, the Selalir had to own itself beaten and the Tagul bears its name Tagul as far as the sea in consequence.

The word *lalir* is apparently the Murut for the outspreading roots of a large tree—the obstructions that the river in its impatience carried before it, while *tagul*, applied to a river, means one that flows slowly and winds about. Mr. Baboneau observes that it seems to be generally believed in the Tagul country that the Tagul is so called as far as the mouth of the main river. He adds: "I did not suggest that it is known by other names downstream from the point at which it meets the Pensiangan."

The above story was told by both the Tagul headmen, Tomandol and Pamiang. Pulangga also knew it and attributed the rivalry of the Tagul and Selalir people to jealousy on the part of Selalir at having been beaten. He stated the Selalir people considered it a sign of bravery if a child was noisy in speech, the Tagul people if a child was quiet.

¹ See p. 206.



Photo

THE PADAS GORGE

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Tomandol and Pamiang also told the following allegory about two rivers: Two men, named Alomur and Ogooh, once had a race. The winning post was at a spot where a woman was pounding *amping*.¹ There were two separate piles of *amping*, one of soft *amping* and one of hard *amping*. Both competitors reached the winning post at the same time. Alomur, who typifies the Tagul, seized a handful of the soft *amping*, but Ogooh, who typifies the Selalir, seized the hard *amping*, anything hard naturally appealing to the Selalir.

Then, having looked at both competitors, the woman chose Alomur, who was gentle-looking in comparison with the wild-eyed Ogooh.

Thus Alomur won, and took, besides the lady, what remained of the two piles of *amping*. So it happens, too (said the narrators), in the matter of raiding: though the Selalir gets a head in the first place, the Tagul invariably wins in the end and gets two heads for the one taken by Selalir. A theory which, as Mr. Baboneau rightly observed, was upheld with a sublime indifference to facts.

§ 5

Mythical Beasts. The legend of the Dragon of Kinabalu has been referred to already, and it has been related so often that it is unnecessary to repeat any of the current versions in detail here.² In my experience, it is to be met with in one form or another among most of the coastal Dusun groups, though its origin may be Brunei.

Rindian Hill, already referred to as the resting-place of the Dusun ark is, according to headman Tanbong of Tangkurus (Tempasuk), the place where a dragon is buried alive. According to Lengok of Bongkahak, there was once a long Dusun village house where the hill now stands, and the inhabitants discovered the art of making gongs. They were so pleased with the invention that they took to beating them day in and night out, and disturbed the rest of a dragon which lived near by. Finding remonstrances of no avail, the dragon buried the village and made the mound over it. According to local tradition, the sound of the gongs can still be heard on a clear night, if one cares to linger near the slopes of Rindian Hill.

¹ I regret that I have not been able to discover the exact meaning of this word; apparently it is some kind of grain.

² For versions of the legend, see *The Dragon of Kinabalu*, p. 1; *British North Borneo*, pp. 57, 85; Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, 1, 304. (Dalrymple, Earl and de Crespigny quoted.)

The Saiap Dusuns (Tempasuk) have stories of a mythical beast known as a *pukau*, a cross between a pig and a deer, with a *kris* for a tongue. Large numbers are said to be found on Mount Madalong, living in holes in the ground. When disturbed, the *pukau* will give chase, and if a man climbs a tree for refuge they will either fell the tree with their tongues or make a pyramid with their backs to enable one of the number to bring him down. The Saiap folk give (or used to give) this story as a reason for their dislike to going to Madalong to search for jungle produce, in which the forests of the mountain are rich.

Mr. Evans collected some additional information concerning the *pukau* from Kalisas (Tempasuk); according to his informant, when the *pukau* catch a man up a tree and have mounted one another's backs to get at him, the top *pukau* licks the flesh from the man's bones with its sharp tongue; if the man crosses a river the *pukau* follow him, "but when they get to the opposite bank they stop to lick themselves like dogs, and their tongues lick up all their skin and flesh until only bones remain."¹

According to the Dusuns of Bulobog (Tempasuk) there was another interesting inhabitant of Mount Madalong. This was a man-monkey called a *bōg*, which had a tail and was proficient in the use of fire.

§ 6

Crocodile Legends. The only man-eating reptile or animal the Borneo pagan has to fear is the crocodile, so that it is natural that many stories should be told of how crocodiles came to devour human beings, or why certain groups should be exempt from their attacks.

Although there are crocodiles in the Pegalan River, which flows through the Keningau district, according to Mr. Fraser no human being in the memory of man had ever been taken by one. The reason given was that once a crocodile got a bone stuck across its throat, and a passing Murut obligingly helped him to dislodge it; whereupon the crocodile swore that, inasmuch as a child of man had helped him in his extremity and saved his life, in future no Murut should be hurt by a crocodile in the Pegalan River; he instructed his helper to tell his people to call out his name, Babau, when they came to the river, so that all crocodiles might know who they were, and this procedure has always been observed.

¹ *Journ. R.A.I.*, vol. xliii, p. 452.

The Papar Dusuns have a variant of this story, but with a different ending. One of their number was once taken under the river to the palace of the King of the Crocodiles (where he found the crocodiles hung up their skins and became human beings), and removed a bone from the throat of the King's daughter. As his reward he was promised a measure full of gold, but he made a hole in the measure so that as fast as gold was poured in, it flowed out through the hole into a box beneath. This trick was eventually discovered and the crocodiles in revenge took to eating human beings.¹

The Tempasuk Dusuns will not kill a crocodile because, according to their mythology, a crocodile once married a Dusun. This crocodile's name was Aki Gahuk and he had five toes on each foot, instead of four, like most of his kind. The people of Tempasuk say that if they could be certain a crocodile had the regulation four toes, they would not hesitate to kill it, but since crocodiles seldom proffer their feet for inspection, they prefer to run no risks in slaughtering a possible relative by marriage.

Mr. Evans gives another version of the Aki Gahuk legend. According to this, Aki Gahuk was chief of the village of Teng-kurus (Tempasuk); he became very old, and as his children did not wish to provide for him or buy clothes for him, they put him in the river, where he gradually turned into a crocodile. He took the iguana (*pang*) for his wife, and from this union the crocodile tribe arose.²

Legends of Disaster from Ridiculing Animals. This very interesting type of legend is curiously prevalent, both among Muruts and Dusuns. In one sense it belongs to the geographical class, for it usually explains the presence or origin of some peculiar natural feature but invariably some village has been involved in disaster because its inmates made a laughing-stock of an animal. Nor is any particular animal alone privileged by being considered exempt from ridicule, for the following variants of the legend show that a pig, a fowl, a dog and a monkey were each the cause of retribution coming to those who behaved towards them in an unseemly manner.

One example, collected by Mr. Baboneau, explains the origin of Penotal Hill, on the Tagul River. Formerly, the story goes, there was an immense house on this hill. A drinking feast was being held and a pig was killed. Somebody laughed at the pig without good cause, and in consequence there was

¹ A parallel Dayak legend, collected in the Mt. Peninjau district (Sarawak) by Wm. Chalmers, is quoted by Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, i, 348.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 454.

thunder, and rocks came hurtling down. The house disappeared and the hill was split in two, as may be seen to-day, the Murut word *potul* (whence Penotal is derived) meaning to chop or split in two.

Mr. Baboneau also mentions the case of a man at Bol (upper Padas) being paralysed, the alleged reason being that he had laughed at a cat. At the New Year sports held at Melamam, in that district, the greased pig event was abandoned as the onlookers would certainly have laughed at it and so met with ill luck (*angai*).

Mr. Fraser has a similar story relating to a large square rock called Silongom on the bank of the Pahl River, a tributary of the Padas, in the Temogun area. Long ago a house stood there and while a feast was taking place one night the river rose in flood. In the evening a woman came to the farther bank, alone, and called for a light. A torch was thereupon tied to the leg of a fowl, and the fowl was thrown up into the air, but fell in the middle of the stream. At this all the people at the feast laughed loud and long, and were immediately turned into stone.

Mr. D. D. Daly¹ records a variant of this legend, concerning some rocks on the Padas about Tenom, the Batu Uko or Dog Rocks. Here a fire-stick was attached to a fowl and a dog in turn; both were carried away, the villagers laughed and were turned to stone.

At Tiong, in the upper Tuaran, is a pool which is said never to run dry. On its site was once a village, I was told by an elderly inhabitant of Tiong, and during a feast the headman dressed up a dog, gave it some liquor, and taking hold of its fore-paws, danced it round the floor. This caused uproarious merriment, but at that moment a great storm arose, the village disappeared and in its place arose the pool.

A similar story was told me to account for a swampy piece of ground at Timbang Batu, formerly the headquarters of the Marudu district. Here too, according to local tradition, was once a large village, but some one dressed up a monkey and made fun of it, whereupon the whole village sank into the ground.

According to Sir Spenser St. John² a like superstition exists among the Dayaks of the Samarahan River: "These Dayaks always refer with respect and awe to some rocks scattered over the summit of a hill in Sadong, saying that they were originally men. The place was a very likely one to be haunted—noble

¹ *Proc. Royal Geog. Soc.*, No. 1., January 1888.

² *Op. cit.*, i, 229.

old forest, but seldom visited. They tell the following story : Many years ago a great chief gave a feast there, in the midst of which his lovely daughter came in : she was a spoilt child, who did nothing but annoy the guests. They at first tried to get rid of her by mixing dirt with her food ; finding she still teased them far more, they gave her poison. Her father, in his anger, went back to his house, shaved his dog, and painted him with alternate streaks of black and white. Then giving him some intoxicating drink, he carried him in his arms into the midst of the assembly, and placed him on the ground. The dog began to caper about in the most ludicrous manner, which set all off laughing, the host as well as the guests, and they were immediately turned into stone."

Legends concerning Animal Helpers. Good examples of this familiar type of folk-tale (in which animals help a mortal in return for their lives being spared) are found among the pagans. The following story, a fine and finished specimen of Murut folklore, was told Mr. Baboneau by the Rundum headman Pulangga of Samalong :

A youth named Talor was hunting in the jungle when he was bitten by an ant. He was about to stamp on it when it spoke and asked for mercy, promising to bring him good luck if he would spare its life. Talor spared it and went on his way. He was about to shoot a bird with his blowpipe when the bird also spoke and begged for mercy, just as the ant had done. Talor was very surprised, but spared its life, and later met a pig and afterwards some monkeys. The same thing happened each time. The animals all spoke to Talor, asking him to spare them and promising him help if ever he should need it. Talor was much astonished but spared them all. Next he went to take the fish from his traps in the river, but the fish asked him to spare them and he let them go.

Soon afterwards he was walking along the bed of a stream and heard a woman's voice. He hid in the jungle and saw a number of women, very beautiful, bathing. Their clothes were lying on the bank and they did not see him. He stole the smallest of the coats and hid it in his loincloth. The women then came out of the water and each one, having put on her clothes, flew away to the sky. At last the youngest one, by name Papusan, came, and wept because she could not find her coat. Talor came out from his hiding place and Papusan accused him of stealing her coat.

"Never mind," said Talor, "come home with me."

After much persuasion she did so and later had a child.

Now whenever Talor went raiding, he hid Papusan's coat in a hollow post of the house and she was never able to find it. One day, when their son was about ten years old, Papusan persuaded him to tell her where Talor had hidden the coat. Then, going outside the house, she put it on and immediately flew away to the sky, for she, and her sisters whom Talor had seen bathing, were the daughters of Kohlung, the lord of the sky.

When Talor returned and found that his wife had flown away, he was angry with his son for telling his mother where he had hidden the coat and the child wept without ceasing for four months. Then Talor made a boat and said they would go in search of Papusan. They went downstream, down the Tagul to the sea, then sailed away till they reached the horizon. Talor and the boy then crossed the horizon on to the sky. They came to a house and asked for Papusan. They were told she had passed by three months before. They went on, walking night and day, and were told that she had passed by two months, a month, ten days before and so on, until at last they were told she had passed by the previous day and next evening they came to Kohlung's house.

Here they saw all Kohlung's daughters planting rice, Papusan among them. The boy ran to his mother and they all three went up to the house. But before they went in Kohlung took an immense knife, very sharp, and put it blade upwards on the ground, telling Talor he must walk along this before he could come in. Talor walked along it unharmed and entered the house.

In the house he found Kohlung's wife cooking. She called Talor into her room at the very end of the house, which was about half a mile in length, and showed him seven huge cooking pots filled with human flesh. She told him he must eat the whole contents himself if he wanted to marry Papusan, then went outside.

Talor wept, seeing the impossibility of his task, but a pig came under the floor of the house and asked him what was the matter. Talor told him and the pig said, "Throw it down here and I will eat it for you." Talor did so, then went to Kohlung's wife and showed her the empty pots.

Next Kohlung took a bamboo full of tobacco seeds and scattered them on the ground, telling Talor he must pick them up and fill the bamboo with them if he wanted to marry his daughter. Talor again wept, seeing that he could not fulfil his task. Then a crowd of ants came to him and told him they

would fill the bamboo with the seeds. Talor put the bamboo on the ground and in a short while the ants had filled it with the seeds.

Talor took the bamboo to Kohlun who was much astonished and none too pleased.

He then set Talor another task, giving him a sieve which he was to take to the river and bring back full of water. Talor took the sieve and sat weeping on a rock in the bed of the river, for he saw that this task was impossible. But the fish came up in great numbers and said that since he had once spared them when they were caught in his traps they would now help him in return. The *kasili* fish then exuded the glue-like substance (*getah*) from their scales, and covered the bottom of the sieve, so that the holes were closed and the water was contained in it.

Talor took the sieve full of water to Kohlun, who said there was yet one more task to be performed. This was to fill an enormous basket with fruit from a certain tree. Talor (by some means) took the basket to the foot of the tree, which was of vast size and on every branch was a different kind of fruit. He sat under the tree wondering how he was to get the fruit, as it was impossible to climb it since it was full of bees. But a herd of monkeys came and stripped the tree, throwing down even the unripe fruit so that the basket should be filled.

Talor went back and told Kohlun that his task was accomplished.

When Kohlun saw this was so, he had no more tasks to invent, so a feast was prepared and Talor and Papusan were married.

After a short time Talor (as is the way with Muruts) began worrying Kohlun to let him go home, and asked him the way. Kohlun gave him a *durian* fruit, and opened a hole in the sky. Talor and his son fell through and found themselves in their own house on the Tagul, but Papusan remained in the sky. So Kohlun and his wife outwitted Talor after all.

Talor wept, but on eating the *durian* that Kohlun had given him he fell sick and died. He then went back to the sky and this time married Papusan for good and lived with her for ever after.

According to the narrator the moral of this story is that mortals must not attempt to get to the next world before their allotted span (*tembuku*) is finished.



APPENDIX A

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

I COMPILED these vocabularies, which contain the words (186) which Sir James Frazer recommends for collection, during the years I was in the North Borneo Civil Service. They cover thirteen pagan dialects and each was made with the assistance of a native of the group in question and checked whenever possible; my informants were rather above the average pagan intelligence; all could speak, and most of them write, Malay. The spelling is phonetic, the letter sounds as in Malay and the accentuation, as in Malay, is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise shown. The final 'k' is almost mute.

I do not claim infallibility for every word shown, for when one has, as I had, no more than a smattering of Dusun and Murut, misunderstandings may arise, particularly with regard to abstract terms. But the lists were compiled carefully and over a period of years, and as a whole I think they will be found reliable. Dr. Otto Blagden has encouraged me to print them, and I do so because a comparative review of the dialects of the chief pagan groups has not been made previously. These dialects are worth further study, for they are very little known; they are spoken by very few Europeans, even in the Civil Service, and in the nature of things are not likely to be until the Government offer encouragement in the shape of bonuses to the District Officers who become proficient in them. Such encouragement would facilitate relations between European officers and the natives, for although Malay is the *lingua franca* of the country, the remoter groups speak only their own tongue and so the services of an interpreter become necessary in dealing with them. And everyone knows the harm an interpreter can do upon occasion.

So far as possible I have arranged the lists geographically, that is, I have placed in sequence the groups which are contiguous to one another. Allowing for local variations and for idiosyncrasies of pronunciation (which among the pagans are great),¹ the reader will be struck with the close resemblance of all the dialects to one another. The most pronounced differences seem to occur among the Tengaras, many words occurring in this group which are found in no other.

As Dr. Blagden has pointed out to me, Murut and Dusun, but particularly Murut, seem more Philippine in general character than the bulk of the Borneo dialects. As is well established, the Philippine

¹ Take, for example, the word *silau* (yellow) which becomes *ahisau*, *asihau*, *masilau*.

languages form a distinct group in the Indonesian section of the Austro-nesian (Malayo-Polynesian) family, and this group includes some of the Formosan dialects on the one hand and some of the Borneo dialects on the other.

Where common forms, such as the numerals, differ from Malay, they represent for the most part the older common-Indonesian state of things : as is shown in the numerals 3 and 8, of which the forms universally used throughout the great Malayo-Polynesian area are *telu* and *walu*. In these vocabularies, where the words differ from the Malay type they are generally common-Indonesian, though some are more definitely Philippine. The old Indonesian forms were often combined with honorifics (*ra*) or articles (*t*) : thus *ama* (father) becomes *tama* in some dialects of Dusun and Murut—*adau* (day) *tadau*, *asu* (dog) *tasu* ; *bitu* (star) takes both prefix and suffix and becomes *rembituan*.

According to Dr. Blagden, the real evidence of the close relation of Dusun and Murut to each other and to the Philippine group lies in the grammatically elaborate use of the prefix system and (in a secondary degree) in the similarity of the phonetic changes in the three groups.

The student is referred also to N. B. Baboneau's Murut Vocabulary and Father A. L. Gossens's Dusun Grammar and Vocabulary in the *Journal of the Straits Branch* and *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, November 1922, and November 1924 respectively.

ENGLISH	yes	no	not	one
MALAY	ya	tidak	tiada	satu
MARUDU DUSUN	auho	amoh	eiso	iso
TEMPASUK DUSUN	auhoh	eiso	eiso	iso
TUARAN DUSUN	auh	amoh	amoh keiso	miso
KIAU DUSUN	auh	amoh	eiso	iso
PUTATAN DUSUN	auh	au	eiso	iso
PAPAR DUSUN	auh	amoh	eiso	iso
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	auhoh	au	ausoh	iso
KUIJAU	ya	au	keiso	iso
KENINGAU MURUT	oi	kai	kandoh	dandoh
PELUAN MURUT	yiau	kandoh	kandoh	iso
TENOM MURUT	yioh	kalandoh	kalandoh	dandoh
(Temogun)				
RUNDUM MURUT	wah	angas	kandoh	sawmi
TENGARA	yia	anunda	salah	dandoh

ENGLISH	two	three	four	five
MALAY	dua	tiga	empat	lima
MARUDU DUSUN	dua	telu	apat	limoh
TEMPASUK DUSUN	duoh	talv	apat	limoh
TUARAN DUSUN	duoh	talv	apat	limoh
KIAU DUSUN	duoh	talv	upat	limoh
PUTATAN DUSUN	duoh	tahoh	apat	himoh
PAPAR DUSUN	duvoh	tahoh	apat	himoh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	duoh	tahu	apat	himoh
KUIJAU	duoh	talv	apat	lima

KENINGAU MURUT	duoh	tal	apat	limoh
PELUAN MURUT	duoh	tal	apat	limoh
TENOM MURUT	duoh	tal	apat	limoh
RUNDUM MURUT	saruhoh	tal	apat	limoh
TENGARA	dua	tal	apat	lima

ENGLISH	six	seven	eight	nine
MALAY	anam	tujoh	lapan	sembilan
MARUDU DUSUN	anam	туру	walu	sembilan
TEMPASUK DUSUN	anam	туру	walu	siam
TUARAN DUSUN	anam	туру	walu	siam
KIAU DUSUN	onom	туру	walu	siam
PUTATAN DUSUN	onom	tuuh	vahu ¹	sizam ¹
PAPAR DUSUN	onom	tuuh	vahu	sizam
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	anam	туру	wahu	siam
KUIJAU	anam	туру	walu	siam
KENINGAU MURUT	onom	туру	balu	siam
PELUAN MURUT	onom	tulu	balu	siam
TENOM MURUT	onom	tulu	balu	siam
RUNDUM MURUT	onom	tulu	balu	siam
TENGARA	anam	tujuh	walu	siam

ENGLISH	ten	eleven	twelve	twenty
MALAY	sa puloh	sa blas	dua blas	dua puloh
MARAUDU DUSUN	opud	opud am iso	opud am dua	dua n'opud
TEMPASUK DUSUN	opud	opud am iso	opud am duoh	duoh n'opud
TUARAN DUSUN	opud	opud am iso	opud am duoh	duoh n'opud
KIAU DUSUN	opud	opud am iso	opud am duoh	duoh n'opud
PUTATAN DUSUN	opud	opud am iso	opod am duoh	duop n'opod
PAPAR DUSUN	hopod	hopod am iso	hopod am duvoh	duvoh nohopod
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	opud	opud am iso	opud am duoh	duoh n'opud
KUIJAU	opud	opud am iso	opud am duoh	duoh n'opud
KENINGAU MURUT	opod	opod am dandoh	opod am duoh	duoh n'opod
PELUAN MURUT	opod	opod am dandoh	opod am duoh	duoh n'opod
TENOM MURUT	opod	opod am dandoh	opod am duoh	duoh n'opod
RUNDUM MURUT	opod	opod am dandoh	opod am duoh	duoh n'opod
TENGARA	apulu	pulu danda	pulu am dua	dua napulu

ENGLISH	twenty-one	thirty	a hundred a thousand	
MALAY	dua puloh satu	tiga puloh	sa ratus	sa ribu
MARUDU DUSUN	dua n'opud am iso	telu n'opud	sa ratus	sa ribu
TEMPASUK DUSUN	duoh n'opud am iso	tal	atus	sa ribu
TUARAN DUSUN	duoh n'opud am iso	tal	atus	sa ribu
KIAU DUSUN	duoh n'opud am iso	tal	hatus	sa ribu
PUTATAN DUSUN	duoh n'opod am iso	tahoh n'opod	hatus	sa ibu
PAPAR DUSUN	duvoh nohopod am iso	tahoh nohopod	hatus	hibu
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	duoh n'opud am iso	tahu n'opud	hatus	sa ribu
KUIJAU	duoh n'opud am iso	tal	atus	sa ribu
KENINGAU MURUT	duoh nopod am dandoh	tal	matus	sa liong

¹ The 'v' and 'z' sounds found in Papar and Putatan Dusun dialects are curious : neither are found in Malay and they appear to be almost peculiar to these groups, though the 'v' is found (less frequently) in Murut.

PELUAN MURUT	duoh n'opod am dandoh talu n'opod	atus	angaliong
TENOM MURUT	duoh n'opod am dandoh talu n'opod	matus	maliong
RUNDUM MURUT	duoh n'opod am dandoh talu n'opod	atus	anglaiong
TENGARA	dua napulu am dandoh talu napulu	atus	sa ribu

ENGLISH	man	woman	child	father	mother
MALAY	orang	prempuan	anak	bapa	mama
MARUDU DUSUN	tulun	tangandu	tanak	tama	ina
TEMPASUK DUSUN	tulun	kiganob	tanak	mama	ina ina
TUARAN DUSUN	tulun	andu andu	anak	ama	ina
KIAU DUSUN	tulun	tangandu	tanganak	tama	tidi
PUTATAN DUSUN	tuhun	tandu	tanak	ama	ina
PAPAR DUSUN	ohun	andu	anak	ama	indi
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tuhun	tandu	tanak	tama	tidi
KUIJAU	tulun	tangandu	tanganak	ama	idi
KENINGAU MURUT	ulun	duandu	anak	ama	ina
PELUAN MURUT	ulun	duandu	anak	ama	ina
TENOM MURUT	ulun	duandu	anak	ama	ina
RUNDUM MURUT	ulun	duandu	anak	ama	ina
TENGARA	ulun	duandu	lalaiying	aman	ina

ENGLISH	brother	sister	son
MALAY	abang, adik ¹	kakak, adik ²	anak laki laki
MARUDU DUSUN	tampinai, tadik	sulad	tanak kusai
TEMPASUK DUSUN	aput	aput tandu	tanak kakusai
TUARAN DUSUN	akak, adik	akak, adik	anak kusai kusai
KIAU DUSUN	tampinai	tampinai	tanganak ta kusai
PUTATAN DUSUN	akak, adik	akak, adik	tanak kusai
PAPAR DUSUN	adik tua, adik	adik tua, adik	anak kusai
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	akak, tadik	akak, tadik	tanak kusai
KUIJAU	akak, adik	akak, adik	anak kusai
KENINGAU MURUT	magakak, ari	magakak, ari	anak kusai
PELUAN MURUT	pahakak, alik	pahakak, alik	anak ongkuian
TENOM MURUT	agagak, alik	agagak, alik	anak ongkuian
RUNDUM MURUT	agagak, alik	agagak, alik	anak ongkuian
TENGARA	akak, alik	akak, alik	saki

ENGLISH	daughter	friend	enemy	chief
MALAY	anak perempuan	kawan	musoh	orang tua
MARUDU DUSUN	tanak tangandu	karuang	musu	melaing
TEMPASUK DUSUN	anak kiganob	karuhang	sangut	melahing
TUARAN DUSUN	anak andu andu	ruhang	tabug	kunchil
KIAU DUSUN	tanganak ka tandu	karuhang	sangud	melaihing
PUTATAN DUSUN	tanak tandu	karuhang	sangud	mohoiing
PAPAR DUSUN	anak andu	ambat	uhun aiat	omohoiing
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tanak tandu	karuhang	sangud	melaihing
KUIJAU	anak tangandu	karuhang	sangud	melahing
KENINGAU MURUT	anak duandu	dangan	mailusak	orang kaya
PELUAN MURUT	anak duandu	dangan	anaiyau	maioh
TENOM MURUT	anak duandu	dangan	magaian	matutoh
RUNDUM MURUT	anak duandu	kayam	ulal	matuoh
TENGARA	amba	dangan	ampatai	kepala

¹ Elder brother, younger brother.² Elder sister, younger sister.

ENGLISH	king	sorcerer	priest	head	hair
MALAY	raja	pawang	imam	kepala	rambut
MARUDU DUSUN	raja	— ¹	—	tulu	abuk
TEMPASUK DUSUN	raja	sindahat	pakiran	ulu	tabuk
TUARAN DUSUN	raja	sindahat	tentagas	tulu	abuk
KIAU DUSUN	orang kaya	babálian	babálian	tulu	tabuk
PUTATAN DUSUN	tumpu	babahisan	babahisan	tuhu	tabuk
PAPAR DUSUN	raja	babahisan	babahisan	uhu	obuk
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	orang kaya	magandi	magandi	tahu	tabuk
KUIJAU	orang kaya	bálian	bálian	ulu	abuk
KENINGAU MURUT	orang kaya	babálian	babálian	uluh	abuk
PELUAN MURUT	orang kaya	babálian	babálian	ulu	abuk
TENOM MURUT	antong	babálian	babálian	ulu	abuk
RUNDUM MURUT	antong	babálian	babálian	ulu	abuk
TENGARA	raja	tilumag	—	ulu	abuk

ENGLISH	eye	nose	mouth	teeth	tongue	ear
MALAY	mata	hidong	mulut	gigi	lidah	telinga
MARUDU DUSUN	motoh	tadong	kabang	tipun	dilah	telinga
TEMPASUK DUSUN	matoh	tadong	kabang	nipun	dilah	telingoh
TUARAN DUSUN	matoh	adong	kabang	nipun	dilah	inangau
KIAU DUSUN	matoh	tadong	kabang	nipun	dilah	telingoh
PUTATAN DUSUN	matoh	tadong	kabang	nipun	dihah	tahingoh
PAPAR DUSUN	magansak	adong	kabang	nipun	dihah	tahingoh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	matoh	tadong	kabang	nipun	dihah	tahingoh
KUIJAU	matoh	tadong	kabang	nipun	dilah	telingoh
KENINGAU MURUT	matoh	adong	kabang	dipod	dilah	telingoh
PELUAN MURUT	matoh	adong	kabang	nipun	dilah	telingoh
TENOM MURUT	matoh	adong	kabang	nipun	dilah	telingoh
RUNDUM MURUT	matoh	arong	kabang	dipun	dilah	telingoh
TENGARA	mata	adung	kabang	nipan	jila	talinga

ENGLISH	neck	body	arm	hand	leg	foot
MALAY	leher	badan	longan	tangan	betis	kaki
MARUDU DUSUN	kolong ²	tinan	longan	tangan	paha	takud
TEMPASUK DUSUN	liau	tinan	longan	longaian	gakud	lapap
TUARAN DUSUN	liau	inan	longan	anggom	gakud	lapap
KIAU DUSUN	lioh	tinan	longan	palad	gakud	lapap
PUTATAN DUSUN	liau	inan	hongan	pahad	takud	takud
PAPAR DUSUN	hiau	tinan	hongan	kaam	akud	akud
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	hioh	tinan	hongan	pahad	takud	hukap
KUIJAU	lioh	tinan	longan	palar	gakur	kukur
KENINGAU MURUT	lioh	inan	longan	palad	kukud	karaiab
PELUAN MURUT	lioh	inan	longan	palad	kukud	kalaiaim
TENOM MURUT	lioh	inan	longan	palad	kukud	kalaiaim
RUNDUM MURUT	lioh	inan	longan	palar	gakur	palar
TENGARA	liak	inan	niban	langan	kalaiaim	kalaiaim

¹ The blank spaces do not necessarily mean that no word exists, but rather that my information is uncertain.

² This variation, which does not appear elsewhere = the Bajau *kelong*.

ENGLISH	shoulder	back	skin	heart	liver
MALAY	bau	blakang	kulit	jantong	hati
MARUDU DUSUN	bau ¹	likud	kulit	jantong	hati
TEMPASUK DUSUN	dihowa	teruntud	kulit	undu undu	angkaiau
TUARAN DUSUN	balaian	teruntud	kulit	undu undu	angkowiau
KIAU DUSUN	limbawa	likhud	kulit	tundu undu	tangkaiau
PUTATAN DUSUN	hapap	hikud	kuhit	tundu undu	ginavoh
PAPAR DUSUN	ihivaha	tahikud	kuhit	undu undu	angkabisau
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	hibawa	hikud	kuhit	tundu undu	tangkaiau
KUIJAU	limbau	bakulong	kungkung	pusu	angkaiau
KENINGAU MURUT	limbau	bakurong	kulit	pusu	angkaiau
PELUAN MURUT	limbau	bakurong	kungkung	pusu	angkaiau
TENOM MURUT	limbau	bakurong	kungkung	pusu	angkaiau
RUNDUM MURUT	limbau	bakurong	kungkung	pusu	angkaiau
TENGARA	limbawa	talikut	kungkung	piniaua	kaiau

ENGLISH	bone	blood	war	spear	bow
MALAY	tulang	darah	prang	lembing	panah
MARUDU DUSUN	tulang	raha	semangud	tandus	—
TEMPASUK DUSUN	tulang	raha	semangud	tandus	panah
TUARAN DUSUN	tulang	raha	—	andus	panah
KIAU DUSUN	tulang	raha	mesungad	tandus	panah
PUTATAN DUSUN	tuhang	zah	mesangud	tandus	—
PAPAR DUSUN	uhang	hah	miasau	andus	panah
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tuhang	rah	mesungad	tandus	tatatau
KUIJAU	tulang	raha	sungad	tandus	panah
KENINGAU MURUT	tulang	dah	mantu tudah	andus	panah
PELUAN MURUT	tulang, bongul	dah	mengaiu	tanggulan	panah
TENOM MURUT	tulang, bongul	rah	magaiau	tambulang	panah
RUNDUM MURUT	luang	rah	angabin	gahang	panah
TENGARA	tulang	dah	mapatai	tudak	—

ENGLISH	arrow	shield	house	boat	food
MALAY	anak panah	prisei	rumah	prau	makanan
MARUDU DUSUN	—	taming	walai	talud	takanan
TEMPASUK DUSUN	anak nu panah	kolid	walai	bintah	makanan
TUARAN DUSUN	anak nu panah	taming	lamin	dilus	dumo-am
KIAU DUSUN	tanak ki panah	kalid	walai	padau	makanan
PUTATAN DUSUN	—	kahid	hamin	padau	makanan
PAPAR DUSUN	yamok	taming	suhap	padahau	mangakan
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	—	kahid	hamin	padau	makanan
KUIJAU	anak panah	kalid	balai	padau	makanan
KENINGAU MURUT	anak panah	kalid	balai	padau	mangakan
PELUAN MURUT	anak panah	kalid	langkau	padau	angakan
TENOM MURUT	—	utap	balai	prau	mangakan
RUNDUM MURUT	anak panah	kalid	mensala	prau	angakan
TENGARA	—	kalid	balai	alud	angkan

¹ In the Marudu list I think it probable that further research would reveal more forms that were of not Malay origin. Malay is of course gradually filtering into the dialects spoken nearest the coast.

ENGLISH	beast	bird	fish	fire	water
MALAY	binatang	burong	ikan	api	ayer
MARUDU DUSUN	binatang	manok manok	sada	tapui	weig
TEMPASUK DUSUN	tangaiam maian	tambolog	sada	tapui	weig
TUARAN DUSUN	kabinatangan	manok manok	sada	tapui	weig
KIAU DUSUN	suang talun	tambolog	sada	tapui	weig
PUTATAN DUSUN	suang tahun	tambohog	sada	tapui	weig
PAPAR DUSUN	yamu yamu	ambohog	sada	apui	weig
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	duput	tambohog	sada	tapui	weig
KUIJAU	duput	dangal	sada	apui	weig
KENINGAU MURUT	kiung	sisirak	ladag ¹	apui	timog
PELUAN MURUT	kiung	sesuit	pait	apui	sungoi
TENOM MURUT	kanah	sesuit	pait	apui	timug
RUNDUM MURUT	kiung	sesuit	pait	apui	siang
TENGARA	kukulas	mamanuk	papait	apui	siang

ENGLISH	river	sea	earth	mountain	stone	tree
MALAY	sungei	laut	tanah	gunong	batu	pohun
MARUDU DUSUN	weig	laut	tanah	bulud ²	batu	pohun
TEMPASUK DUSUN	bawang	sawah	lagit	bukid	watu	pohun
TUARAN DUSUN	bawang	rahat	tanah	bukid	watu	pohun
KIAU DUSUN	bawang	dahat	tanah	tidong	watu	guas
PUTATAN DUSUN	bahvang	daat	tanah	nuhong	vatu	guvas
PAPAR DUSUN	bahvang	dahat	tanah	nuhong	pampang	pohun
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	bawang	daat	tanah	tidong	watu	guas
KUIJAU	bawang	daat	tanah	tidong	batu	guas
KENINGAU MURUT	sungoi	dahat	tanah	tidong	batu	poko
PELUAN MURUT	sungoi	luab	tanah	tirong	batu	pohun
TENOM MURUT	sungoi	lautan	tanah	bulur, tirong	batu	pohun
RUNDUM MURUT	sungoi	luab	tanah	sunsui	bantau	pohun
TENGARA	siang	tikayu	tanah	tidong	batu	puntaun

ENGLISH	forest	sky	sun	moon	star
MALAY	utan	langit	mata hari	bulan	bintang
MARUDU DUSUN	imban	langit	mata tadoh	tulan	bintang
TEMPASUK DUSUN	gutan	hawan	matoh tatau	ulan	rembituan
TUARAN DUSUN	katalunan	awan	matoh adau	ulan	rembituan
KIAU DUSUN	gotan	tawan	mata tatau	tulan	rembituan
PUTATAN DUSUN	pias	tavan	tatau	buhan	tambituan
PAPAR DUSUN	bohung kutan	avan	adau	buhan	ambituan
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tahun	tawan	tatau	uhan	rembituan
KUIJAU	talong	kawanan	adau	bulan	rembituan
KENINGAU MURUT	kasawawan	dasawat	matanudau	bulan	butiting
PELUAN DUSUN	katanaan	limbowan	mata nurau	tinganun	telibar
TENOM MURUT	kataunan	limbowan	matta nurau	bulan	butiting
RUNDUM MURUT	gimban	limbowan	matanurau	bulan	butiting
TENGARA	damud	limbawan	mata adau	bulan	balilia

¹ Mr. Baboneau's vocabulary gives the more usual *pait*.² =Bajau *belud*.

ENGLISH	cloud	wind	rain	thunder	lightning
MALAY	awan	angin	ujan	guntor	kilat
MARUDU DUSUN	awan	bariu	darun	guntor	kilat
TEMPASUK DUSUN	haun	barat	rasam	tinggaron	kadumaat
TUARAN DUSUN	pituwongan	tangus	rasam	rudu	kadit
KIAU DUSUN	haun	ribut	rasam	tinggaron	kadumaat
PUTATAN DUSUN	tavan	tangus	asam	tingud	ganit
PAPAR DUSUN	avan	ibut	yiasam	tinggon	ganit
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	gaun	ribut	rasam	tinggarud	ganit
KUIJAU	tawan	saup	darun	tinggaron	tungkilat
KENINGAU MURUT	gaun	angin	dasam	temparak	tungkilap
PELUAN MURUT	gaun	angin	dasam	tingkalu	kilap
TENOM MURUT	gaun	angin	rasam	tingkalu	ganit
RUNDUM MURUT	laput	angin	anguluh	magalu	ganit
TENGARA	gaun	libut	kuanan	tingkalud	kulijat
ENGLISH	day	night	shadow	breath	soul
MALAY	hari	malam	baiang	napas	nyawa jiwa
MARUDU DUSUN	tadoh	atuong	—	nyawa	—
TEMPASUK DUSUN	tadau	atuong	sasangai	penihiboh	ginawa
TUARAN DUSUN	adau	asadop	alongan	ginawa	nyawa
KIAU DUSUN	tadau	tatuong	sangai	pinuhoba	ginawa
PUTATAN DUSUN	tadau	sodop	tindohongon	pinoboh	tambiru
PAPAR DUSUN	adau	sodop	indohongon	puhobah	ginavoh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tadau	tatuong	goda	pinoba	ginawa
KUIJAU	adau	sadat	telungoh	piniau	ambiroh
KENINGAU MURUT	adau	marondom	melungung	piniau	—
PELUAN MURUT	arau	lundom	babarah	piniau	piniau
TENOM MURUT	arau	lundom	babarah	pinau	pinau
RUNDUM MURUT	arau	lundom	babarah	agug	piniau
TENGARA	adau	lanam	lindada	—	—
ENGLISH	spirit	ghost	god	word	
MALAY	jin	hantu	allah taala	perkataan	
MARUDU DUSUN	ragon	ragon	kinharingan ¹	—	
TEMPASUK DUSUN	ragon	tambiru	kinharingan	barusan	
TUARAN DUSUN	ragon	ambiruoh	kinharingan	mi baru	barus
KIAU DUSUN	tambiru tambaig	tambiru	kinharingan	kaborusan	
PUTATAN DUSUN	ogon	tambiru	kinharingan	mibooskopo	
PAPAR DUSUN	jin	ogon	kinharingan	paibabasan	
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tampolalanggai	ragon	kinaringan	kaboroborusan	
KUIJAU	karaganan	ambiru	kinaringan	kaborusan	
KENINGAU MURUT	karaganan	karaganan	pinagaringan	magigindagu	
PELUAN MURUT	jin	alingu	kaulong ¹	indahu	
TENOM MURUT	simuntulong	mangilalah	kaulong	dagu	
(Temogun)					
RUNDUM MURUT	amamalir	alingu	kaulong	agagayam	
TENGARA	—	saitan	mangun	dagu	
ENGLISH	thing	part	whole	I	thou
MALAY	barang	bhagian	semoa	aku, sahya	kau
MARUDU DUSUN	—	bhagian	—	iaku	—
TEMPASUK DUSUN	dapu	bahagi	ngangawi	iaku	dijun

¹ The name of the deity of the group. No other word appeared to be known.

TUARAN DUSUN	baraba baraba	bahagi	natanan	aku	ikau
KIAU DUSUN	dapu	piduan	ngai	yehoh	ia
PUTATAN DUSUN	dapu	mi bhagi	savi avi	izoh	ziau
PAPAR DUSUN	barang	bahagi	ngavi	zoh	ziau
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	dapu	pitai adun	ainsanan	dagoh	ika
KUIJAU	dapu	bagian	awian	aku	akau
KENINGAU MURUT	dapu	taiad	seriau	aku	akau
PELUAN MURUT	sesawat	taiar	seriau	akai	akau
TENOM MURUT	rapu	taiar	seriau	aku	okau
RUNDUM MURUT	sesawat	piruan	seriau	au	diun
TENGARA	baluk	babakan	ngai ngai	dakur	diu

ENGLISH	he, she	we	you	they
MALAY	dia	sahya orang, kita,	kami kita orang	dia orang
MARUDU DUSUN	—	—	iko	—
TEMPASUK DUSUN	dijun	dijat	ikau	dijun
TUARAN DUSUN	isioh	itokau	ikau	idah
KIAU DUSUN	ka	duo kitoh	iakau duoh	keruang ku
PUTATAN DUSUN	ihoh	zikoi	ziazu	zihohoh
PAPAR DUSUN	zisidoh	zoh	ziazu	zisidoh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	dasida	dagai	dika	dasida
KUIJAU	ikauboh	aku	ikau	ikauboh
KENINGAU MURUT	akaudaginoh	aku	akau	akau daginoh
PELUAN MURUT	ginoh	akai	damoyun	yanu
TENOM MURUT	yioh	aku	damoyun	yanu
RUNDUM MURUT	diun	au	damoyun	diun
TENGARA	diu	daman	diun	ulun diu

ENGLISH	who ?	which ?	this	that	large	small
MALAY	siapa	yang mana	ini	itu	besar	kecil
MARUDU DUSUN	isoi	somboyoh	ino	—	agaioh	opodoh
TEMPASUK DUSUN	isai	numbor	inioh	halu	agaioh	ataki
TUARAN DUSUN	isai	umbor	ati	alahelu	agaioh	ataioh
KIAU DUSUN	nunu	numboh	hite	heloh	agaioh	akorok
PUTATAN DUSUN	isai	numboh	ite	ihoh	agazoh	anini
PAPAR DUSUN	zisai	hinoggoh	hite	hihoh	agazoh	anini
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	isai	anggo	ite	ihah	agaioh	akorok
KUIJAU	isai	nonggo	iokoh	iloh	agaioh	akorok
KENINGAU MURUT	asakau	isai	gitu	ginoh	mavoh	madorok
PELUAN MURUT	atu	intok	gitu	ginoh	aioh	borok
TENOM MURUT	asoi	atan	itioh	gioh	maioh	borok
RUNDUM MURUT	aun ginoh	aung	sauh	iaroh	maioh	brok
TENGARA	sigina	umbapat	ditu	gio	maioh	itik

ENGLISH	many	few	all	long	short
MALAY	banyak	sedikit	semoa	panjang	pendek
MARUDU DUSUN	agomoh	akodikno	inoio	avanggo	apodok
TEMPASUK DUSUN	agomoh	akuri	ngangawi	anaru	aniba
TUARAN DUSUN	agomoh	akori	natanan	anaru	ariba
KIAU DUSUN	agumok	akuri	ngai	anaru	aniba
PUTATAN DUSUN	agumok	akudi	savi avi	anau	aniboh
PAPAR DUSUN	agumok	akudi	ngavi	anau	aniboh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	agumok	akuri	ainsanan	anaru	asuriba
KUIJAU	agumok	aduri	awian	anaru	adiba

KENINGAU MURUT	mamu	makusit	ngakai	mawat	maduvah	
PELUAN MURUT	suang	borok	ngai	asawat	giwui	
TENOM MURUT	asuang	borok	ngai	mawah	mariwah	
RUNDUM MURUT	asuang	brok	ngawi	alanggoi	giwui	
TENGARA	asuang	kaitikyak	ngai ngai	sawat	limpung	
ENGLISH	high	low	hard	soft	light	heavy
MALAY	tinggi	rendah	kras	lembut	ringan	brat
MARUDU DUSUN	alonggau	abous	akodau	aluma	aringan	wagat
TEMPASUK DUSUN	rangau	asiriba ¹	kodau	alumok	agaán	awagat
TUARAN DUSUN	kawau	asiriba	kodau	alemi	agaán	awagat
KIAU DUSUN	akawas	aniba	akodoh	lemuk	agan	augat
PUTATAN DUSUN	asavat	asiboh	ohomok	ohomok	agahan	avagat
PAPAR DUSUN	asavat	asuiboh	okodau	homomoi	agahan	avagat
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	akawas	adiba	kadoh	ahami	agan	augat
KUIJAU	akawas	adiba	kodoh	alami	agaán	awagat
KENINGAU MURUT	mawat	madiwah	mākong	malamoi	mamad	magat
PELUAN MURUT	asawat	ariwui	akotoh	alami	langkar	agat
TENOM MURUT	asawat	aganah	kotoh	alami	maman	magat
RUNDUM MURUT	alanggoi	giwui	ākang	alambok	alangkor	agat
TENGARA	sawat	giwui	katuk	lami	langkor	wagat
ENGLISH	quick	slow		sweet	bitter	
MALAY	lekas	plan plan	besar	manis	pahit	
MARUDU DUSUN	alingau	harambat	agaioh	amamis	apahit	
TEMPASUK DUSUN	duhaiai	alugot	pohod	amis	pahhit	
TUARAN DUSUN	jarai	lagotun	pohod	amis	apahit	
KIAU DUSUN	jarai	lagalagutan	agaioh	amis	pa'it	
PUTATAN DUSUN	sikap	sanadan	opud	amis	opohit	
PAPAR DUSUN	sikap	monginut	agaioh	mamis	opohit	
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	tarusai	chanaadan	alangiui	amis	apahit	
KUIJAU	tarusai	lagalagutan	agaioh	amis	apahit	
KENINGAU MURUT	meribok	insu insu	maio	amis	to'ong	
PELUAN MURUT	libokoh	liwah liwah	aioh	amis	ato'ong	
TENOM MURUT	libokoh	liwah liwah	aioh	amis	mapait	
RUNDUM MURUT	kapasioh	liliwahan	maio	amis	to'ong	
TENGARA	tikas	lambat	mangal	amis	pait	
ENGLISH	bright	dark	black	white	red	
MALAY	trang	glap	hitam	puteh	merah	
MARUDU DUSUN	trang	apetang	hitam	apurak	aragang	
TEMPASUK DUSUN	puhang	atuang	aitam	purak	ragang	
TUARAN DUSUN	apuhang	atuang	maitan	purak	ragang	
KIAU DUSUN	atrang	atuang tuang	itom	apurak	ragang	
PUTATAN DUSUN	atalang	atuvong	aitam	apuk	agang	
PAPAR DUSUN	anihang	atuvong	maitam	apuk	aigang	
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	atahang	atuong	aitom	apurak	ragang	
KUIJAU	atalang	tatuong	taitom	apurak	ragang	
KENINGAU MURUT	trang	marondom	mātom	mapurak	mariah	

¹ This and several of the words below are variants of the forms given for 'short.' I have retained them as an example of the variations of a single word found in one dialect and even in one speaker, who will use one form one moment and another the next.

PELUAN MURUT	atalang	alundom	atarom	apulak	aliah
TENOM MURUT	matawang	alundom	aitom	apulak	maliah
RUNDUM MURUT	atalang	rundum	alinsom	apurak	aliah
TENGARA	gawas	niat	tadang	apulak	lagang
ENGLISH	blue	yellow	green	good	bad
MALAY	biru	kuning	hijau	baik	jahat
MARUDU DUSUN	biru	kuning	hijau	wasi	araát
TEMPASUK DUSUN	tamau	silau	atamau	agirat	raat
TUARAN DUSUN	tamau	silau	atamau	aranggoi	araát
KIAU DUSUN	tamau	silau	tamau	asenang	araát
PUTATAN DUSUN	tamau	ahisau	atumau	avasi	alaát
PAPAR DUSUN	atumau	asihau	atumau	avasi	aiaát
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	atamau	asihau	atamau	asenang	araát
KUIJAU	melinsi ¹	masilau	matamau	awasi	malái
KENINGAU MURUT	malinsi	silau	atamau	mansiui	maraát
PELUAN MURUT	tamau	silau	kunit	onsoi	alaát
TENOM MURUT	tamau	silau	maninsi	onsoi	araát
RUNDUM MURUT	akasul	kundit	akasul	atalah	alaát
TENGARA	—	silau	lapai	aunsoi	alad
ENGLISH	beautiful	ugly	wise	foolish	new
MALAY	chanteK	hudoh	pandai	bodoh	bharu
MARUDU DUSUN	wasi	araát	pandai	bingong	bharu
TEMPASUK DUSUN	asenong	raat	kamiloh	babungau	wagu
TUARAN DUSUN	aranggoi	araát	atukang	palui	wagu
KIAU DUSUN	alundus	araát	milah	mulau ulau	wagu
PUTATAN DUSUN	avanus	alaát	apandai	paloí	vagu
PAPAR DUSUN	assongan	aiaát	apandai	paloí	vagu
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	ahundus	araát	atandoi	wongón	wagu
KUIJAU	asenang	malái	apandai	gila gilan	wagu
KENINGAU MURUT	mansui	maraát	pandai	sambongan	baguan
PELUAN MURUT	onsoi	alaát	pandai	sambongan	bahuan
TENOM MURUT	onsoi	araát	apandai	sambongan	baguan
RUNDUM MURUT	aunsoi	araát	apandai	sambongan	baguan
TENGARA	bejajak	alad tugas	apintah	balingau	baguan
ENGLISH	young	old	true	false	to be
MALAY	muda	tua	benar	bohong	ada
MARUDU DUSUN	bharu	atua	benar	udut	waroh
TEMPASUK DUSUN	amulok	atuoh	atopot	audut	waroh
TUARAN DUSUN	amulok	atua	benar	udut	waroh
KIAU DUSUN	mulok	melaihing	tapot	audut	aroh
PUTATAN DUSUN	amohok	atuoh	abenar	avulut	kivah
PAPAR DUSUN	amohok	atuoh	abenar	avulut	kiisoh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	muhok	melaihing	atapot	audut	kiwara
KUIJAU	lalangai	melaihing	atapot	mudut	wara
KENINGAU MURUT	amulok	atuoh	matapot	ambuton	makondoh
PELUAN MURUT	ambulok	atuoh	kepioh	ambuak	akondoh
TENOM MURUT	ambulok	atuoh	kepioh	magabau	akondoh
RUNDUM MURUT	ambulok	atuoh	kepioh	babuak	ondoh
TENGARA	amulak	atua	manang	tilabut	ajadi

¹ Mr. Baboneau gives *tumau*.

ENGLISH	go	come	stand	sit
MALAY	pergi	datang	bediri	duduk
MARUDU DUSUN	ralan	korikut	bediri	mogom
TEMPASUK DUSUN	mongoi	korikut	ingkakat	merikau
TUARAN DUSUN	kumauwa	korikut	moiakat	lemusad
KIAU DUSUN	manau	korikut	mengkakat	arikau
PUTATAN DUSUN	mugad	kaikut	mengkakat	mindikau
PAPAR DUSUN	manau	yumikat	mengkakat	mikau
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	manau	korikut	mengkakat	tumudong
KUIJAU	manau	korikut	mengkakat	mudong
KENINGAU MURUT	mugad	kasaboi	manintorodong	manturong
PELUAN MURUT	makau	kasuku	ingkirai	anturong
TENOM MURUT	mugah	kasuku	bigur	anturong
RUNDUM MURUT	makau	kasuku	ingkakat	anturong
TENGARA	makau	dagitu	mimpilik	antudung

ENGLISH	lie	walk	run	touch	smell
MALAY	baring	berjalan	lari	pegang	chium
MARUDU DUSUN	melimpang	manau	nangkus	menguyut	aburus
TEMPASUK DUSUN	madopadop	manau	magidu	kumoyut	singud
TUARAN DUSUN	madopadop	manau	lamaguoi	kumoyut	singud
KIAU DUSUN	piadopodop	manau	magidu	magitai	singudah
PUTATAN DUSUN	umovi	manau	magidu	igitan	singudoh
PAPAR DUSUN	umovi	manau	samimbul	kumo'ot	semingud
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	humiwi	manau	magidu	igitai	singudah
KUIJAU	lumuwu	manau	magidu	igitan	singudah
KENINGAU MURUT	malong	manau	pagidu	onggoioh	singudah
PELUAN MURUT	lumumpi	manau	magiru	onggoioh	alokok
TENOM MURUT	lumumpi	mugah	magiru	onggoioh	alokok
RUNDUM MURUT	atuluh	manau	agidu	onggoioh	alokok
TENGARA	lamuid	mugat	besimbul	apilat	agalog

ENGLISH	taste	see	hear	speak	sing
MALAY	rasa	nampak	dengar	chakap	menyanyi
MARADU DUSUN	rasa	nampak	nakali	chakap	—
TEMPASUK DUSUN	rasoh	—	korungau	borus	memunyi unyi
TUARAN DUSUN	indasa	akitoh	korungau	borus	melingah lingah
KIAU DUSUN	rasoh	kitoh	arangau	borus	menandig
PUTATAN DUSUN	kinamai	akitoh	kongoh	maboas	mingkikizaton
PAPAR DUSUN	poiman	nakitoh	limongau	ba'as	tangon
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	kinamai	nakitoh	narangau	borus	suminding
KUIJAU	kinamai	akitoh	arangau	mindagu	suminding
KENINGAU MURUT	iri	akitoh	aining	dagu	madimbai
PELUAN MURUT	kinami	akitoh	aining	dahu	ahilalangkut
TENOM MURUT	kinami	akitoh	maining	ragu	magililiwah
RUNDUM MURUT	kinami	akitoh	alongoh	ragu	lalondai
TENGARA	kinamu	laipa	ininga	minagu	—

ENGLISH	dance	eat	drink	sleep	dream
MALAY	menari	makan	minum	tidor	mimpi
MARUDU DUSUN	—	memakan	minum	maturu	kidau
TEMPASUK DUSUN	mangigol	makan	minum	madop	nipi
TUARAN DUSUN	mangigol	dumohuni	manginom	madop	manginipi
KIAU DUSUN	mangigil	makan	maginom	adop	mengipi
PUTATAN DUSUN	—	makan	minom	madop	nipi
PAPAR DUSUN	sumazau	mangakan	monginum	madop	nipi
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	magarang	makan	maginum	madop	menginipi
KUIJAU	sumaiiau	makan	maginum	madop	inipi
KENINGAU MURUT	mensaiau	makan	maginum	malong	maginupi
PELUAN MURUT	mensaiau	makan	anginum	along	ahinimpi
TENOM MURUT	mansaiiau	angakan	anginum	along	nupi
RUNDUM MURUT	—	angkan	anangguh	along	antugau
TENGARA	beriluk	angkan	anginum	along	inupi

ENGLISH	be born	marry	live	love	hate
MALAY	beranak	berkawin	hidup	saiang	benchi
MARUDU DUSUN	beranak	kawin	alum	asuka	abanchi
TEMPASUK DUSUN	asusu	mipanau	napasi	arubat	araatan
TUARAN DUSUN	maganak	anankimoh	miau	arubatan	amok arahi
KIAU DUSUN	maganak	menansu	miau	arubat	araatan
PUTATAN DUSUN	maganak	menansavoh	paimizau	aubat	abazatan
PAPAR DUSUN	anganak	penangsava	midzau	kauhuan	abazatan
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	maganak	menansauh	miau	arubat	araatan
KUIJAU	maganak	menansauh	wiau	arubat	araatan
KENINGAU MURUT	maganak	menansauh	naiaq	marubat	maraát
PELUAN MURUT	ahanak	ahandu	ayah	amboioh	asisingon
TENOM MURUT	aganak	magandu	ayah	alubat	asisung
RUNDUM MURUT	angkaguo	aguat	ayah	amboioh	araát
TENGARA	anganak	baduluk	muiak	guang	maraatan

ENGLISH	fear	wish	command	tell	think
MALAY	takut	suka	suroh	bri tau	pikir
MARUDU DUSUN	—	aho	—	duatan	memikiroh
TEMPASUK DUSUN	lumakak	wang	menahag	sinudai	handomoh
TUARAN DUSUN	karasi	wang	menuhuh	worai	pikir
KIAU DUSUN	madasi	muhang	suhuwa	senudai	ituitungoh
PUTATAN DUSUN	atahau	asaga	suhoh	poihoon	ginavuhu
PAPAR DUSUN	yiasizan	asuka	suhoh	pomiho'oh	berpikir
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	rasihan	ahiap	suwa	gerasai	memusarau
KUIJAU	karasi	asuka	suhuwa	barasai	ginau
KENINGAU MURUT	mataloh	masaga	susuboh	baraih	mangkada
PELUAN MURUT	alah	asaga	susuboh	balaih	guangu
TENOM MURUT	alah	asaga	susuboh	balaih	guangu
RUNDUM MURUT	alah	asaga	susuboh	balaih	asuang guangan
TENGARA	inkala	guang	susubak	blai	ampikil

ENGLISH	believe	know	die	fight	strike
MALAY	perchaya	tau	mati	lawan	pukul
MARUDU DUSUN	benaroh	—	menatai	musu	pukul
TEMPASUK DUSUN	numbaian	kamilau	menatai	sumap	babag
TUARAN DUSUN	abanaran	pandai	napatai	sumaáp	babag
KIAU DUSUN	nangkoian	milah	matai	sumaák	bubug
PUTATAN DUSUN	atapatan	nakaiho	napatai	havanoh	mamobog
PAPAR DUSUN	pesaya'an	kamiho'u	matai	umavan	mamobog
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	atumbaian	kamioh	matai	sumaák	mebubug
KUIJAU	atopot	apandai	napatai	umawan	mamabag
KENINGAU MURUT	matopot	kapandai	napatoi	lawan	amalambad
PELUAN MURUT	tumbaian	katutun	matoi	angabu	amalambah
TENOM MURUT	mangintopot	katutun	matoi	angabu	amalambah
RUNDUM MURUT	atopot	apandaiau	natoi	lewan	angumbal
TENGARA	persaya	pandai	matai	ngapu	bubukur

ENGLISH	cut	burn	kill	give	take
MALAY	potong	bakar	bunoh	kasih	ambil
MARUDU DUSUN	tantas	bakaroh	patoioh	takoh	pongongoi
TEMPASUK DUSUN	tebas	asarab	pataion	takoh	woioh
TUARAN DUSUN	tebas	ginuruwan	pataion	takoh	ongoioh
KIAU DUSUN	tebas	tutudai	pataioh	takoh	anuoh
PUTATAN DUSUN	tebasoh	tutudai	pataizohoh	anuaiha	ongozoh
PAPAR DUSUN	mongo'od	tutudai	mamatai	patakohun	ongozoh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	metibas	tutudai	pataioh	patakoh	naioh
KUIJAU	tebas	tutudan	pataian	atakon	ongoian
KENINGAU MURUT	pigisoh	tinui	pataioh	patakon	alapoh
PELUAN MURUT	pirisoh	tunui	patoioh	taki	undutoh
TENOM MURUT	pirisoh	tunui	patoioh	taki	alapoh
RUNDUM MURUT	pirisoh	salobok	patoioh	taki	alapoh
TENGARA	tatakur	salab	pataioh	taki	rapur

ENGLISH	do, make	carry
MALAY	buat, bekin	sikut
MARUDU DUSUN	bekino	kakatoh
TEMPASUK DUSUN	wansoian	pinaboh
TUARAN DUSUN	wansoian	pinaboh
KIAU DUSUN	wongsaioh	baboha
PUTATAN DUSUN	todohyoihoh	baboihoh
PAPAR DUSUN	tanda'oh	mahboh
TAMBUNAN DUSUN	wahon	babóh
KUIJAU	wongsaioh	mamaboh
KENINGAU MURUT	tarandah	ibaán
PELUAN MURUT	baloh	ibaán
TENOM MURUT	baloh	ibaán
RUNDUM MURUT	baloh	ibaán
TENGARA	tugasa	kakata

APPENDIX B

ORIGINALS OF MURUT CHANTS

COLLECTED BY MR. G. C. WOOLLEY

I. DRINKING SONG (page 78)

I

Koi nobai saiilang
Boiuan kovei nagi,
Oko avoi anginoman
Ago luminsongan
5 Suang nu waloi
Oko Kelaun itu
Kuritan kovei arakin
Lili itakau nantutoh
Ilaio gua saiilang,
10 Kagino novei
Iginom davinsulun.

II

Ano aningkaho da nginom
Batang inan mairano
Pai nu Kelaun.
15 Inan mairano
Ondo dagino alaiun
Nuva vinsulun.

Kolotong patuon
Ka liga bebalaiing
20 Da anginuman.
Batang inan davinsulun itu
Kelaun voga-liga dagaling :
Duiian ga-liga berbatangun :
Aki na makasuining
25 Oro ili nagaling ?
Surai liga lelumbis :
Batang inan disulun
Imbalua liga lopot,
Sinsing liga ligogot :
30 Batang inan disulun
Sumbiling kalasangan itu.
Kolotong noiak pinato,
Gino liga binambal
Akai ahurambai.
35 Suyong amagun itu
Mamata kinindasu
Ayam lantongan itu.

II. DRINKING SONG (page 115)

I

Oi saiilang damoiun.
Tulangga kamu da-binambun.
Suliup kamu lakin iti.
Lantutus pana binambun
Inuman aiok lalaiu.
Pai nu kono ulun sambokun
Nampohun nga da-tinulai :
Akai topoio baho
Lantutus noio bai baho.

II

Oi saiilang damoiun.
Oun po ke da-rumandai ?
Akainuman po baho
Ali io nga saiilang.
Kando io da inuman.
Ku ain mu oi mindaho :
Oko ando poio inuman.
Oun po baho semulut ?

III. WELCOME TO EUROPEAN VISITOR (page 116)

- Koi moiun, maundong, tangkalon,
 Pangkikiat, pangkukui,
 Paat lundun dagito,
 Tuangan dagito.
⁵ Pai nindaruloi inkagaya
 Itakau sulokoion, tambuluion.
 Ando Kenawai kambula
 Paat no nama-ramai nakasuku ;
 Pai Kenawai itu kambula
¹⁰ Takau pagun lamasun pulongan.
- Oro poio dagaling dalaiir
 Ka ramai kampong kapo limang-
 gong :
 Antotobo sario asisimbut ;
 Oro po-ban giato sulinggan :
¹⁵ Koson iak da pembaiit pongkoto
 Suyong nu kampong sario amahun.
 Gino insom nurakon ; samu dio
 randaian.

IV. HEADHUNTING CHANT (*Kukoi*) (page 193).

I. MEN

- Koi, Koi.
 Aguntias balaiong
 Pulo na Tagul,
 Ino chari Tagul,
⁵ Koi, Koi.
 Inumpang mai tutuan
 Sinunkaran nu tukar,
 Chari tukar,
 Okoi, koi,
¹⁰ Lumingkonor bengkuru
 Pinapasan nu pagun,
 Chari pagun,
 Koi, koi.
 Pinaluir mai kuom
¹⁵ Tengah nu papan ino
 Chari papan,
 Koi, koi.¹

II. WOMEN

- Lai ando mai no ;
 Apandai anipuan :
²⁰ Tininting da sumbeling.
 Oun ke pomunsilau ?
 Abong—nga ne semaia,
 Oun ke nonipuan,
 Andaliga rolok ?

III. MEN

- ²⁵ Semaia kaku-riun,
 Akai po antinalun ;
 Aningoi na da-rolok.
 Indus ke dakuan-mu,
 Baukan tomininting ?

IV. WOMEN

- ³⁰ Lumosong au topo
 Piasau nu usokan.
 Lumpai panganebatar,
 Iso nantinalun.
 Senguat iak abu :
³⁵ Atu nomandakon ?
 Ka angilinan ku :
 Angapu da piasau.

V. MEN

- Somaia kaku-rium,
 Tokir po nantinalun
⁴⁰ Angiling da piasau.
 Impong iak kasulabo :
 Soiong mai pomepikan :
 Sumanduli lalaiau
 Ka no morolok.

VI. WOMEN

- ⁴⁵ Lai baioi maino,
 Ka kalilimbawan.
 Apandai monipuan.
 Bingkasan pongolundom.
 Lumpai penagoyuman
⁵⁰ Teruan nemitolo.
 Oun bandong dagitu,
 Pemamabas diando ?
 Nauran ku sungoi
 Pagoyuman da bandong.
⁵⁵ Gina nga ingkil mo-loh,
 Okopo linusungan.
 Gugugutut bututan,
 Bitan mampoi da-olot.

¹ The repetitions are shown in the first stanza only.



VII. MEN

- Semaia kaku-riun,
 100 Bingkasan melandaman
 Lumosong da piasau,
 Piasau nusulokan.
 La aiyok sentapi,
 Lumosong amukauoh :
 105 Basau aiyok nailuh ;
 Mandau na uguntor.

VIII. WOMEN

- Nakadapat lingkonan :
 Napandak lakai-nali :
 Noial pulo lumot
 20 Nenantupan liando :
 Lumatapan da pulo
 Rusak nakaliarap.
 Oun antong gio
 Uma nu sansag gino ?
 25 Tampoiong iak nonangi
 Limbaioi nu usokan
 Oium ke teruan.

IX. MEN

- Peminsalan tetubo
 30 Tengah na puli ino :
 Akapatulai damon
 Lalandau initaran.
 Lai gino semaia,
 Atu mu namialong ?
 35 Semuku na piasau.
 Ibaiai nantinalun
 Lingi sangang kawi :
 Angkinongor da tandul,
 La aiyok korita.
 40 Sangang mutu narambai
 Agoyong da sumbiton
 Agalih tentuaian
 Tengah nomor ino.
 Akai iak anak wago,
 45 Outangan ku no lusong

X. WOMEN

- Bagu sarat nulinggan,
 Muntol da pinapason :
 Sali-sali tumolai,
 Talantar nu pitandul.
 100 Lumingi kelagiau
 Amoia da ulu.
 Saligi lingkonan
 Sauo nu limbungan.

Antangi anak lugom

- 105 Amoia da ulu.
 Masi aku boi tupo
 Anak na nu piasai.
 Lusong iak liga,
 Agipag da piasau,
 110 Oupo polandugon,
 Bingkason kongalundum

XI. MEN

- Napansa seraman,
 Pemamalir da guang.
 Unsoi guang daino,
 115 Nakuli na lalandau.
 Lai gino semaia,
 Akau nga antinangi,
 Laiuan po lumako ;
 Kaimanan nu guang.
 120 Tagas tininting itu,
 La aiyok korita
 Intob pensailang
 Sinsing nalano ili.
 Lai usokan ino,
 125 Unsoi guang daino
 Nakuli maino sinsing.

XII. WOMEN

- Antaking galan piasau,
 Amusilau landoman.
 Analikoh da guang
 130 Anda na da lumosong
 Pai nga talantar.
 Limeron ko lumosong
 Ali na anak wago
 Amalampin dalosong.
 135 Oun lumpai dibaiai
 Nenipuan da rolok
 Kapoio lusongan ?
 Senuan ko piasau ?
 Iwawo damon susu,
 140 Limbaioi nu antongan,
 Gina galan tipuan
 Lalandok nu sumbeling :
 Ka lainpu ku ligata
 Anipu sumansokor.

XIII. MEN

- 145 Atunjong kaku riun,
 Ka kimantak dalusong
 Piasau inimatar ?
 Tokiran munga bansa :
 Anda po ansaguli.

- 100 Angalap da piasau.
 Lingkongan akukuan
 Soiong no bansa itu :
 Kando kajanjai,
 Tininjangun di Kalauan.
 105 Lai antongan ino,
 La aiyok simbuti
 Duian nu usokan,
 Anda aioh dagino,
 Iso nakasambaiai.
 100 Guang iak inikatan.
 Nangantong iak lalaiau
 Kaiak solor nagoium
 Toruan nga nalauo.
 Lai gino semaia,
 105 Baiasing ponobitan
 Oro dagaling dali :
 Ali wago raino
 Mengagis no kininting.

XIV. WOMEN

- Ando kaku-damoiun,
 170 Patirau mu seraman.

- Salah liga antongan
 Pandai ogoyuman.
 Lumosong ou topo
 Gunsanut no piasau.
 175 Lumpai pongonabatar
 Andanga antinalun.
 Kisingga mai dalosong
 Piasau nuoi bontoi.
 Impong taka lampoi,
 180 Lumosong taka sario.
 Koiuan nenagi
 Angapongo da rolok ?
 Aligalan pelandugun
 Mamalampin dalosong ?

XV. MEN

- 185 Semaia kakuriun,
 Gitu popus lumosong
 Piasau nu usokan.
 Kait wago lumosong
 Lumimbang nga anipo
 190 Anda da rolok gitu.

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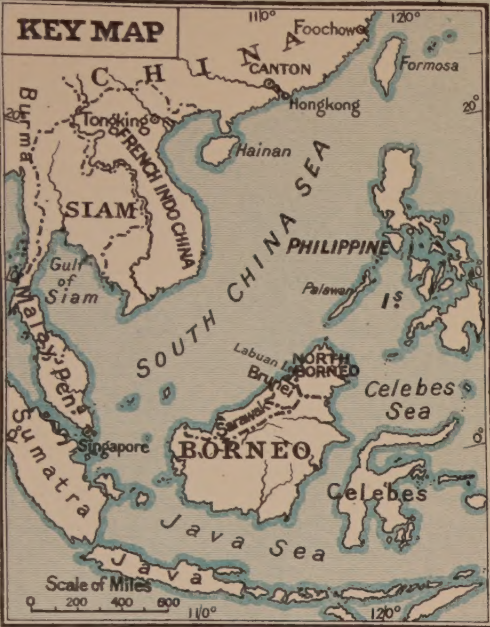
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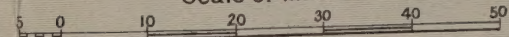
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KEY MAP



MAP OF THE STATE OF NORTH BORNEO

Scale of Miles



REFERENCE.

- Railway
- Bridle Paths
- Telegraph Line
- Telephone Line
- State Boundary
- Residency do.
- Wireless Stations



